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CONTENTS

PAGE

NOTES ON ANCIENT CHINESE DOCUMENTS
BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E. 243

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL TERMS - - - BY A. C. MOULE 254

CHINESE DITTIES - - - - - BY E. T. C. WERNER 259

A GOLD COIN OF THE MING DYNASTY - BY A. M. T. WOODWARD 273

MR. WALLY AND "THE LUTE GIRL'S SONG" BY PROF. H. A. GILES 281

THE HANGCHOW BORE - - - - BY G. T. MOULE 289

ORNAMENTAL CARVING EXTRAORDINARY - BY L. C. ARLINGTON 302

NOTES AND QUERIES - - - - - - - - 309

RECENT LITERATURE - - - - - - - - 320

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THE NEW
CHINA REVIEW

VOL. III. AUGUST, 1921. No. 4.

NOTES ON ANCIENT CHINESE DOCUMENTS, DISCOVERED ALONG THE HAN FRONTIER WALL IN THE DESERT OF TUN-HUANG

BY

SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.,

INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.

In my *Ruins of Desert Cathay* * I had given a general account of the discoveries made by me in 1907 along the long-forgotten westernmost portion of that ancient frontier wall, a true *Limes*, which the great Han Emperor Wu-ti had constructed towards the end of the second century B.C. in order to guard his newly opened line for China's commercial and political expansion towards Central Asia. Subsequently in *Serindia*, the detailed Report on my second Central-Asian expedition (1906-8)†, which has now been completed in print at the Oxford University Press

* See *Ruins of Desert Cathay, Personal Narrative of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China* (two vols., 8vo, Macmillan & Co., London, 1912), i. pp. 540 sqq ; ii. 39-158.

† *Serindia, Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China, carried out and described under the orders of H.M. Indian Government by Sir Aurel Stein.* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1921, royal quarto, Vols. I-III: Text, Vol. IV ; 175 Plates, Vol. V : 95 Maps from original surveys).

For the explorations effected along the Tun-huang *Limes*, see *Serindia* (vol. ii), p. 566-730.

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and will be published early in 1921, I have had occasion fully to describe the explorations, extending over two months and a half, which enabled me to trace the line of the ancient wall for a total length of over 140 miles and to search the ruins of its watch-towers and stations, including the famous 'Jade Gate.'

Having remained undisturbed by the hand of man in the solitude of the gravel desert, they yielded a rich harvest of early Chinese and other records, mainly on wood, along with many interesting relics of the life led along this most desolate of borders during the century immediately preceding and following the time of Christ.

The unsurpassed learning and critical acumen of my lamented great collaborator, M. Édouard Chavannes, had since 1913 rendered the mass of Chinese documents recovered here accessible to research also by non-sinologue students like myself.* It thus became possible for me to discuss in Chapter XX of *Serindia* the general organization of the *Limes* in the light of the historical and archæological information furnished by them, and to bring into correct focus the significance of the antiquarian facts revealed by actual exploration of its remains.

In the extracts from section vi of that chapter, communicated here with the kind permission of the Secretary to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, no attempt can be made to set forth the manifold points of historical and archæological interest presented by the hundreds of official or quasi-official communications and records, all on wood, which were discovered at the ruined stations of the *Limes* and chiefly among their refuse-heaps. For those points, reference to the masterly summary furnished by the Introduction of M. Chavannes' work must suffice here.† But in the interest of those students in the Far East to whom the volumes of *Serindia* may remain difficult of access it has appeared useful to reproduce here the essential facts concerning the records of a personal and literary character to be found among those relics of Han times and in particular to indicate what light those relics as a whole throw upon the technicalities of the ancient stationery of China as used before the invention of paper by Ts'ai Lun in A.D. 105.‡

* See Chavannes, *Les documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein* (Oxford University Press, 1913), pp. 1-154, Plates I-XX.

† See Chavannes, *Les documents chinois*, pp. vii. sqq.

‡ For the information previously available from Chinese textual sources about the use of bamboo or wood as writing material, cf. M. Chavannes' *Les livres chinois avant l'invention du papier*, *Journal Asiatique*, janvier-février, 1905 (reprint), pp. 13-47.

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As regards the 'stationery' aspect of the office records which form the vast majority of the documents recovered, such as administrative orders, reports, account statements, etc., my remarks may be brief; for in their material and shape they agree very closely with the Chinese records on wood first brought to light by me in the course of my excavations of 1901 at the Niya Site, an ancient settlement of the Tarim Basin abandoned to the desert sands in the 3rd century A.D.* As the specimens reproduced in *Ancient Khotan*, the detailed report on my first Central-Asian expedition,† in M. Chavannes' *Documents chinois*, Planches II-XX, and also in *Desert Cathay* show, these office records present themselves mostly as narrow slips of wood, from nine inches to nine and a half in length (roughly corresponding to the Chinese foot of the Han period) and from a quarter to a half of an inch in width. They may be inscribed on both sides, but ordinarily show only a single column of *tzŭ* 字 on either.

That bamboo 'slips' are relatively rare is a fact easily accounted for by the great distance separating that westernmost border of China Proper from the bamboo-growing regions of the Empire. In most of the slips the wood used is that of the cultivated poplar (*Populus alba*), as common now in the oases of northwestern Kan-su as it is in those of Chinese Turkestan, or else that of the wild poplar (the Turkestan *toghrak*) or the tamarisk. The latter two are still plentiful in the narrow belts of vegetation fringing the marshy depressions along which great portions of the *Limes* in the desert north and west of Tun-huang were constructed. But there are to be found also slips made of the wood of some conifer. This wood, probably brought from the forests of the Central Nan-shan, is found frequently in narrow tablets bearing more than one vertical line of characters on either or both faces. Otherwise these tablets conform in length and also in character of contents to the usual 'slips' described above.

I may add here in passing that owing to the traditional tenacity of Chinese convention the 'slip' form of the ancient wooden stationery used during the centuries preceding the invention of paper appears to be reflected in the arrangement of the pink coloured letter paper which ordinarily served for private correspondence in the pre-revolution China of our own times and widely continues in use still. The height of the vertical ruled lines on it and the distance between them cor-

* See Stein, *Ancient Khotan* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1907), i. pp. 342 sq., 539 sq.

† See *Ancient Khotan*, ii. Plates CXII, CXIV.

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respond exactly to the average length and width of those ancient slips, each being meant to hold a single column of *tzŭ*.

Wooden slips of greater length up to 14 inches, form the stationery used for the numerous portions of calendars which turned up among the 'waste papers' (to use an anachronism) thrown on the refuse heaps of the ancient *Limes* stations. Such calendars were obviously needed in order to enable the clerical establishments to date reports, etc., correctly, to make out accounts, and so on. Usually these portions of calendars show in order the cyclic designations, arranged according to the sixty-years cycle, which a particular day bears in the successive twelve months of the year. This system has enabled M. Chavannes to fix in many cases the exact year intended, and in this way to restore complete calendars with absolute precision for the years 63, 59, 39 B.C. and A.D. 94, 153.* The result of his painstaking calculations affords valuable help for the verification of the tables prepared by Chinese chronologists. In this connexion it is of some interest to observe that an otherwise exactly-dated document, No. 255, of May 10th, 68 B.C., bears an erroneous *nien-hao*. The year is shown as the sixth of the *Pên-shih* 本始 period, which in reality had been replaced in 69 B.C. by the *Ti-chieh* 地節 period. This inaccuracy clearly points, as M. Chavannes observes, to the fact that the communications between the capital and the extreme western border were interrupted at the time.†

By the side of the official communications and records, private letters figure in considerable numbers among the written remains from the *Limes*.‡ Most of them are too short or fragmentary to yield information bearing on the life of the border or to be otherwise of antiquarian interest. But special mention is due to two letters on silk, one long and well-preserved, T.XIII. i. 003 (*Documents*, Plate XX),§ which were found sewn up into a small bag for holding some medicine or condiment—luckily with the written surface turned inside. They were both addressed by an officer of superior rank stationed at Ch'êng-lo

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* Cf. Chavannes' *Documents*, pp. xvii, 14.

† Cf. *Documents*, p. 61. For similar cases of dates given in elapsed *nien-haos*, see *Ancient Khotan*, i., p. 275, note. M. Chavannes' remarks, *ibid.*, pp. 533, sqq., make it quite certain that the erroneous *nien-haos* named in the Dandan-oilik documents of A.D. 781-7 were due to the isolation of Eastern Turkestan from the Empire through the Tibetan occupation of westernmost Kan-su in A.D. 781.

‡ See *Documents*, Nos. 151-4, 174, 178, 180, 243, 254, 344-6, 348, 349, 398, 398a, 419, 468, 489, 501-2, 573, 607, 629, 706-7 (the last two on paper).

§ See *Documents*, Nos. 398, 398a.

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on the northern border of Shan-hsi to another exile on the Tun-huang *Limes*, the long one being intended to serve as a letter of recommendation for a colleague transferred to a post on the latter. Amidst much polite verbiage it also expresses the writer's disappointment at not having, after five years' service 'on the northern frontier, in a miserable country,' attained the desired charge of a command, for which he appears to have repeatedly petitioned the Emperor. In two other letters also we find the writers lamenting the hardship of the guard service on the frontier and the inclement season of spring.* The latter complaint bears a local touch which I can fully appreciate after my two spring campaigns of 1908 and 1914 on the desert border ; it shows that the amenities of its climate were two thousand years ago much the same as now.

Of interest for the study of the ancient stationery is the small silk envelope, *Documents*, No. 503, T.xv.a.ii. 4 (Plate XIV), used for a private letter, as its address shows. Its inside width is 65 mm. This would conveniently admit of the insertion of a letter on silk, such as *Documents*, No. 398 (Plate XX), which is 58 mm. wide, after folding. As the refuse-heap where the envelope was found contained documents with dates ranging from A.D. 15 to 56, it appears to me very probable that the envelope, too, belongs approximately to the first half of the first century A.D., and thus to the period preceding the invention of paper.

We may now cast a glance at the fragments of literature, as M. Chavannes' analysis has revealed them, among the written relics of the *Limes*. Considering the conditions of the life led by those who guarded the line of small posts flung out into the desert, we cannot feel surprised at the scantiness of the traces which have survived of their intellectual occupations. For all that concerns the philological interest of these literary relics reference to M. Chavannes' full explanations will suffice here.† Of particular value among them are the relatively numerous fragments of a famous lexicographical text, the *Chi chiu chang* 急就章, which was composed in 48-33 B.C. and played an important part in the primary education of China during the Later Han period.‡

* See *Documents*, Nos. 344, 345.

† Cf. *Documents*, pp. viii, xvi sq., pp. 1 sqq on Nos. 1-8.

‡ Cf. Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 1-3. It is from *Chi chiu chang* that the script, commonly known in China as *chang ts'ao* 章草 and illustrated by most of the *Limes* documents, took its name ; see Chavannes, *Documents*, p. viii.

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These fragments, as M. Chavannes duly emphasizes, are the oldest known manuscripts which exist of a Chinese book, and it is fortunate that we have among them one containing the first paragraph of the work complete. The long prismatic tablet which bears this portion of the text on its three faces, *Doc.* No. 1 (Plate 1), also has a special antiquarian interest as being a perfectly preserved specimen of a type of wooden stationery which is referred to in early Chinese texts and apparently was favoured for literary use.*

The popularity which *Chi chiu chang* soon acquired in the elementary teaching of Chinese writing sufficiently explains its rapid spread to the extreme north-west end of the border; for, among several ruined watchposts, fragments of it were found at T. VI. c (*Doc.* No. 4), a post early abandoned. In these, as in some other fragments which are of the usual slip form, the text appears to have been copied out as a writing exercise.† The importance which the Chinese have at all times attached to good handwriting is well known, and so also the necessity of constant practice which the very system of Chinese writing implies. This fact fully accounts not merely for the presence of these 'copy slips' from the *Chi chiu chang*, but for the abundant finds made also of other writing exercises.‡ Nothing could illustrate better the trouble which some of the men stationed at the outlying posts must have taken to 'improve their education,' or at least their handwriting, than the big packets of 'shavings' inscribed in this fashion which came to light on clearing the refuse-heaps of T. VI.b, a sectional head-quarters of the westernmost *Limes*

Apart from three more slips containing fragments of other vocabularies as yet unidentified,§ the literary remains among the finds on the *Limes* are merely a few extracts from treatises on divination¶ and astrology,‖ and a fragment, *Doc.* No.

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* See *Documents*, pp. ix, 6 sq., note 1. M. Chavannes' note explains the term *ku* 觚, which occurs at the beginning of the first paragraph of the text and specially designates this type of tablet. We have fragments of prismatic triangular tablets in *Documents*, No. 2, T. XX. ii. 2 (Pl. II), also containing a portion of a text from *Chi chiu chang*, and in *Documents*, No. 451, T.XV a. iii. 31 (Pl. XII), which contains a brief congratulatory message.

† Cf. M. Chavannes' notes on *Documents*, Nos. 4, 6, 7.

‡ See, e.g., *Documents*, Nos. 251, 372, 422-3, 540, 632, 641, 643-4.

§ See *Documents*, Nos. 397, 603 (?), 701.

¶ Cf. *Documents*, Nos. 59, 448, 638, with M. Chavannes' remarks, p. xvi.

‖ See *Documents*, No. 182, where the notch proves the slip to have formed part of a book.

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425, containing a passage from a treatise on military affairs, composed in 229 B.C. ¶ That the solace of literature was not altogether absent from this desolate border-line may, perhaps, be concluded also from the fact that a fragmentary slip, *Doc.* No. 622, T. XXVIII. 10, quotes the title of the 'Biographies of Eminent Women,' *Lieh nü chuan*, a book composed in 32-7 B.C.* There is a brief extract, too, from a medical treatise, together with a few fragments of a probably similar nature.† Finally, we may mention here the curious multiplication table, *Doc.* No. 702, T. XXVI, though it does not come, of course, under the category of books.

It is in this connexion with books that one more point of antiquarian interest concerning the ancient stationery of bamboo or wood may here find convenient notice. I have had numerous occasions in *Serindia* to discuss various striking illustrations and additions which our knowledge of that early Chinese stationery, as first based on the evidence of my finds of 1901 at the Niya Site, has received from the documents yielded by the ruins of the Tun-hung *Limes* and, to a smaller extent, of the Lou-lan station.‡

The presence among the finds on the *Limes* of remains of books and writings which from a quasi-technical point of view, i.e., from that of the book-binder, to use a modern expression, may claim the same character, now enables us to clear up the question, previously very obscure, how proper cohesion and sequence could be assured for the numerous slips or tablets over which texts of any size written on bamboo or wood must necessarily have extended. M. Chavannes, who in a masterly discussion, had previously reviewed the information that can be gathered from Chinese textual sources about the ancient writing-materials used before the invention of paper,§ did not fail to observe when

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¶ I owe this last reference to M. Chavannes, who was kind enough on Oct. 3, 1917, the day of our last meeting, verbally to indicate the identification made by Mr. Wang Kuo-wei in his *Liu sha to chien*, reproducing a portion of the documents first published by M. Chavannes. The treatise was apparently known as *Li-mo* 力墨.

* See *Documents*, pp. xvii, 137. Two records of A.D. 75, *Documents*, Nos. 613, 614, prove that the watch-tower T. XXVIII was occupied towards the end of the first century A.D.

† See *Document*, No. 395, a complete slip, with the fragments Nos. 396, 397.

‡ Cf. *Serindia*, pp. 382, 659, on the use of seal sockets and string grooves on wooden 'envelopes,' as provided for many of the Kharoshthi documents of the Niya Site; p. 382, on sealed lids closing small boxes intended to hold communications extending over several 'slips'; p. 597, on the standard size of slips.

§ Cf. above, p. 244 note.‡

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handling my new finds, that a number among the narrow tablets or 'slips' bore one or more notches on one of the edges. As the position of these was uniform on those 'slips' which manifestly belonged to one series, M. Chavannes rightly concluded that the notches were intended to serve the purpose of uniting such slips into one group.* But he added: 'Nous ne comprenons pas bien encore comment on assurait l'ordre de succession de ces fiches ; il n'y a aucune numérotation pouvant tenir lieu de pagination, et on ne comprend pas comment il était possible de rétablir l'ordre lorsque quelque cause accidentelle l'avait bouleversé.'

The question thus raised is a very pertinent one, and makes it desirable to examine the materials available for its eventual solution. They are briefly the following: In the set of slips, *Doc.* Nos. 9-24, belonging to a calendar of A.D. 63, we find the left edge of each provided with three notches, disposed as Plate I shows, at exactly uniform distances. Another set of slips, *Doc.* Nos. 25-35 (Plate II), forming part of the calendar for 59 B.C., shows two notches, also uniformly placed, but on the right edge of each slip. A third method of arrangement is found in the set of narrow bamboo slips, Nos. 524-34,† making up a medical notebook: here we find two notches on the right, one above, one below, and a third always placed on the left in the middle. Among single slips provided with notches only one, *Doc.* No. 182, needs special mention here, as its text supports the conclusion suggested by the single notch on the right, that it belonged to a book.‡ It is worthy of particular note that none of these slips bear writing on the reverse except those of the calendar of 59 B.C., where we find a system of consecutive numbering by means of cyclic characters.

Attention is claimed by the fact that no text is to be found on the reverse of any of the notched slips belonging to sets.¶ It appeared *à priori* all the more significant in view of the inconvenience which the bulk and weight of books written on slips of bamboo or wood must in any case have caused. It necessarily raised a presumption that the fastening, for which the notches

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* Cf. *Documents*, p. viii.

† See *Documents*, Pl. XIV for specimens.

‡ There are besides: Nos. 264, 306, both fragments of calendar slips, displaying one notch on the right in the existing top-portion ; No. 478, containing only a signature, with one notch on the top to the right. Nos. 519, 610, with three notches and one respectively on the right, remain undeciphered and hence must be left aside for the present.

¶ The same fact is clearly established by the evidence of Chinese literary records ; cf. Chavannes, *Les livres chinois*, *J. Asiat.*, janvier-février 1905 (reprint), pp. 35 sqq.

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were undoubtedly intended, must have been arranged in a way which brought the blank reverses of consecutive slips back to back and thus made it inconvenient to use the reverse surfaces for inscribing or reading any portions of the text. This conjectured arrangement recalled to my mind that of numerous Chinese and Tibetan manuscripts brought back from the walled up chapel of the 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas' of Tun-huang, which are long sheets of paper consisting of several joined pieces and folded up into narrow pages somewhat after the fashion of a concertina. In these manuscripts, too, the reverse surface of the paper is always left uninscribed, just as we find it regularly in Chinese printed books, in which as a matter of fact, we merely have an adaptation to block-printing of the 'concertina' method just alluded to.

At this point I appealed to the often-proved technical ingenuity of my artist friend and assistant Mr. Fred. H. Andrews, Principal of the Technical Institute, Srinagar, Kashmir, and the following note and diagrams from his hand furnish what seems to me a very likely solution of the puzzle.

> "Each 'slip,' i.e., small lath of wood (belonging to a series which contained one text or connected record), being a folio, it is clear that some means of binding must have been employed to maintain the folios in correct collation. The small notches observed on the edges of the 'slips,' and the fact that these exactly range when a number of 'slips' are collated, indicate that the connecting binding must have been of the nature of a string, an inference strengthened by the references in Chinese texts to silk or leather cords uniting the fascicles of wooden or bamboo slips mentioned by Prof. Chavannes. (cf. Chavannes, *Les livres chinois*, *Journal Asiat.*, janvier-février, 1905, pp. 43 sqq.)
>
> "Experimenting with a fine raw silk thread, I found that a satisfactory result could be attained by the following method (see illustration). The cord is doubled end to end, the first 'slip' (folio one) is placed in the bend, and an ordinary knot tied with the two ends, care being taken that the encircling cord falls in the notch near one end of the lath, the purpose of which is to prevent the cord slipping. Folio two is then laid with its notch close to the knot, one end of the cord being below the lath and the other on top. The two ends are then half twisted round each other reversing the position of the cords, the upper becoming the lower and the lower the upper. Folio three is next placed between the cords with its notch against the half-twist, and the cords are again half

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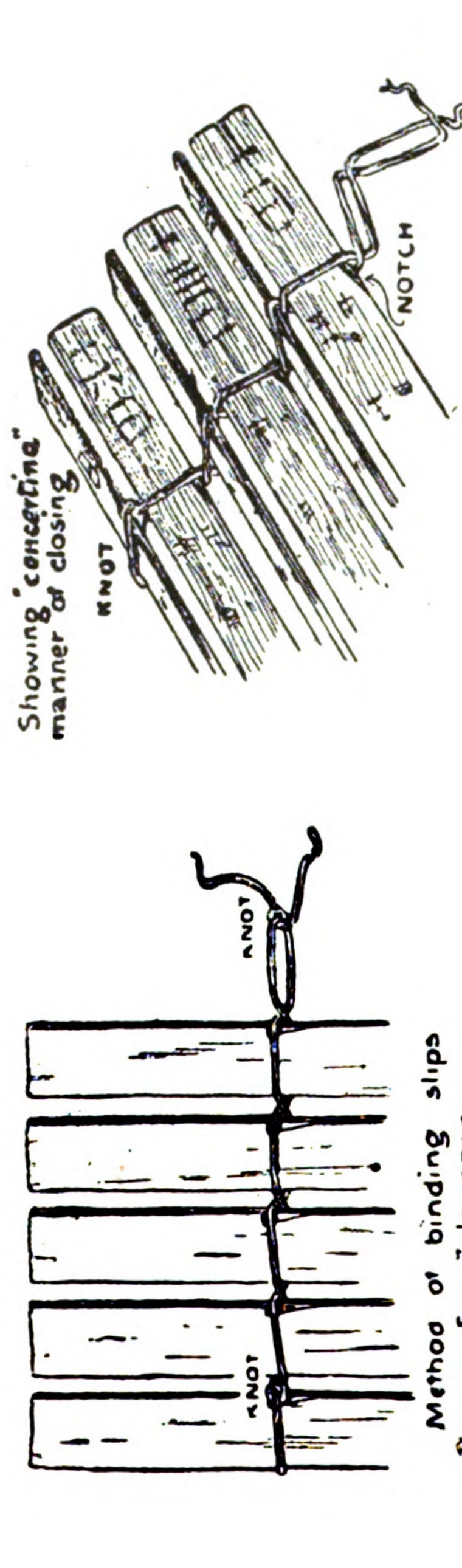

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twisted to secure it in position. The process is continued until the last page, after which a knot is tied, and the excess length of the two ends is left free to be used as a means of tying the complete record or chapter together, when it has been closed in concertina fashion. The same procedure is followed with the opposite end. The whole process is practically that followed by basket-makers and Indian 'chick' makers, sometimes described as 'wrap twining' or 'pairing,' and will be perhaps more clearly understood from the accompanying sketch.

"The reason for tying the first knot is to prevent the cord travelling with frequent opening and closing of the book, a tendency which it had, as experiment proved.

"When closed, the fascicle could be conveniently slipped into a rectangular case for protection. For lids of such cases, with string grooves and seal cavity, see *Ancient Khotan*, Pl. CXIV (N. xv, 345), and *Documents*, Pl. XXIII, L.A. vi. ii. 0200 (No. 751)."

Habent sua fata libelli. It seems strange that we should have to look among the relics from lonely desert posts of the border-line pushed out far toward the barbarian West for evidence to clear up details, even if they are only technical, concerning the books in which that glory of Chinese civilization, its ancient literature, found its earliest written record.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL TERMS.

A. C. Moule.

The following very incomplete list of the words and terms used of books, noted during the process of cataloguing a small collection of Chinese books, may tempt others to complete and, if necessary, to correct it. The list is incomplete within its own limits, and those limits exclude all the words for papers, margins, covers, labels, seals, sewing or stabbing, tools, woods, printing houses and their furniture, library furniture like cupboards, shelves, boxes, etc., etc., and all the modern jargon which may have grown up from the use of Western methods and machines. Examples of the terms are quoted from catalogues and other books. Some kind help and correction has been given by Professors H. A. Giles and Paul Pelliot.

稿　本	Kao pên, Author's MS. draft.	巾箱說一卷稿本
原稿本	Yüan kao pên, Author's first draft.	芸莊雜錄備遺原稿本
寫　本	Hsieh pên, A Manuscript.	易說存悔二卷舊寫本
鈔(抄)本	Ch'ao pên, A MS., or MS. copy.	依宋鈔本: 鈔永樂大典本
5. 摹　本	Mo pên, A traced copy.	重續千字文影摹本
影　本	Ying pên, A traced copy.	影宋本
影寫 (or 鈔) 本	Ying hsieh (ch'ao) pên, A traced copy.	影寫元刋本: 影鈔明刋本

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手鈔本 Shou ch'ao pên, An autograph copy. 嚴九能手鈔宋本

手稿本 Shou kao pên, An autograph draft. 玉琴齋詞四册手稿本

手寫稿本 Shou hsieh kao pên, An autograph draft. 玉几山房聽雨錄手寫稿本

手書 Shou shu, An autograph, or MS. 似省前生覓手書

手帖 Shou t'ieh, ditto 次袁豹齋手帖云

精鈔(or 寫)本 Ching ch'ao (hsieh) pên, A fine, or careful, MS. copy. 易譜義精鈔本: 詞源二卷精寫本

鈔配本 Ch'ao p'ei pên, A book with missing parts supplied in MS. 學易記明鈔配本

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聚珍本 Chü chên pên, ditto 老子道德經聚珍本

黑口本 Hei k'ou pên, A book with part of the margin black. 元刊黑口本. 上下有細黑口

麻沙本 Ma sha pên, A book printed at Ma-sha, so A badly printed book. 翻宋麻沙本

殘本 Ts'an pên, An imperfect book. 舊鈔殘本

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刋修本 K'an hsiu pên, A book with missing part supplied in print. 明萬曆刋修本

40. 墨　本 Mo pên, A book printed in black ink. 成都局刻墨本

朱墨本 Chu mo pên, ditto in red and black. 朱墨本左傳: 明朱墨印本

三色本 San sê pên, ditto in three colours. 三色評本義山詩注

五色本 Wu sê pên, ditto in colours. 五色評本杜詩

官　本 Kuan pên, A government edition. 左傳讀本貴陽官本

45. 官刋本 Kuan k'an pên, ditto (printed). 明嘉靖官刋本

官　版 Kuan pan, ditto 其官版刋刻及云云

監　本 Chien pên, A book printed at the 國子監 kuo tzŭ chien. 監本易經

殿本(or 版)Tien pên (pan), A Palace edition. 左傳讀本殿本

內府刋本 Nei fu k'an pên, A book printed in the Palace.. 明內府刋本

50. 大字本 Ta tzŭ pên, A large-print book. 明經廠大字本

小字本 Hsiao tzŭ pên, A small-print book. 元刋小字本

細字本 Hsi tzŭ pên, ditto 明刻細字本

巾箱本 Chin hsiang pên, A pocket edition. 嘉靖贛州刻巾箱本

袖珍本 Ch'ou chên pên, A sleeve edition. 古香齋袖珍五經四書

55. 初　印 Ch'u yin, First or early impression. 雍正九年刋初印

十行本 Shih hang pên, A book with ten columns to the page. 宋刋十行本

通行本 T'ung hsing pên, An ordinary edition, 福建通志通行本

坊　本 Fang pên, ditto 坊本多譌

校定本 Chiao ting pên, A corrected text.

60. 校　勘 Chiao k'an, To correct the text. (校勘記 Chiao k'an chi (*apparatus criticus*). 校勘之學家

正　文 Chêng wên, The correct text. 四書正文

原　本 Yüan pên, An original edition. 春秋大事表原刻本

道藏本 Tao tsang pên, A book in the Taoist Canon. 意林校道藏本

釋藏本 Shih tsang pên, A book in the Buddhist Canon. 宏明集明鈔釋藏本

65. 精　本 Ching pên, An accurate edition. 未見精本者舉通行本: 成都書院本不精

善　本 Shan pên, A good edition. 多傳本者舉善本: 書以何本爲善

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讀　本 Tu pên, A well got up edition. *See* 44, 48
刊　K'an, To cut, or engrave. 成書未刊者
刻 (字) K'ê (tzŭ), ditto 勘刻書說：付刻字貲
70. 鐫　Chien, ditto 光緒甲午夏鐫
梓　Tzŭ, ditto 重校梓凡二十餘版
雕　Tiao, ditto 其書似未經付雕：江蘇書局開雕
重刊 (刻, etc.) Ch'ung k'an (k'ê, etc.), to re-cut, etc. (*i.e.*, to issue a new edition). 夏氏重刊宋本. *See* 70
新刊(刻,etc.) Hsin k'an (k'ê, etc.) ditto 濟南新刻本
75. 初(再,三)版 Ch'u (tsai, san) pan, First (2nd, 3rd) edition. 增訂再版
石　印 Shih yin, To lithograph. 光緒丙申中夏石印
版 (板) Pan, An engraved block. 板存 。。: *See* 70
。。藏版 Ts'ang pan, Blocks kept at —— 本衙藏版
。。藏本 (or 書) Ts'ang pên (Shu), A book kept at —— 內府藏本：天一閣藏書
80. 藏書志 Ts'ang shu chih, A catalogue. 菁本書室藏書志
書　目 Shu mu, ditto 三家各有書目
藏書家 Ts'ang shu chia, A book collector. 稱藏書家曰云云
書　室 Shu shih, A Library, or Book shop. *See* 79; 106
石　室 Shih shih, ditto 敦煌石室遺書
85. 書　坊 Shu fang, ditto, or Book shop. :橘園亭書房
(官)書局 (Kuan) shu chü, A government publishing house. *See* 40, 64, 71
經　房 Ching fang, A Buddhist (or Taoist) book shop. 昭慶大字經房
夾　板 Chia pan, Book boards, loose wooden covers for one or more volumes.
套　T'ao, 1. A case or cover of cardboard and cloth for one or more volumes.
2. A case (or pair of boards) with the volumes in it; A set of volumes. *See* 91
90　卷 Chüan, A roll; hence, A chapter. Catalogues specify the number of chapters in a book and rarely mention the volumes. *See* 1, 3
本 Pên, A book; an edition; a volume. *See* above *passim*: *See* 91
部 Pu, A book; a work. 聖諭像解一部計十本兩套
冊 Ts'ê, A fascicule. 律書第一冊：每部二冊
編 Pien, A part. (內編 Nei pien, Part I, 外編 Wai pien, Part II)

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95.	篇	P'ien, A section; a pamphlet, or tract.	道德經上篇: 感應篇
	頁 (葉)	Yeh, A leaf (葉前 Yeh ch'ien, *recto*; 葉後 Yeh hou, *verso*).	
	半 頁	Pan yeh, A page (上 or 下 Shang or Hsia pan yeh, *recto* or *verso*).	
	宋 本	Sung pên, A book transcribed or printed (not composed) in the Sung dynasty.	
	。。(刋) 本。。	(K'an) pên, A book printed at——	日本刋本: 杭州本: 藏本
100.	印	Yin, To print.	初印佩文韻府
	印 刷	Yin shua, ditto	最通行者爲木版印刷
	刷 印	Shua yin, ditto	
	印 造	Yin tsao, ditto	大字經房慧空印造流通
	印 送	Yin sung, To print and distribute.	付印送法華經錢 三千弐百文: 刋刻印送此經
105.	流 通	Liu t'ung, To disseminate. *See* 102	
	刋 行	K'an hsing, To print and publish.	刋行一二種者
	印 行	Yin hsing, To print and publish.	彪蒙書室印行
	發 行	Fa hsing, To publish.	彪蒙書室總發行
	施 行	Shih hsing, ditto	
	etc.	etc.	etc.

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CHINESE DITTIES

BY

E. T. C. WERNER,

H.B.M. CONSUL, FOOCHOW (RETIRED).

Since (about the beginning of the nineteenth century) the folk-lore and folk-songs of various lands have been seriously investigated, and folk-lore has become a science, a vast field of information has been disclosed, the full meaning of which is only now beginning to be generally appreciated. Thinkers now see, what the earlier collectors perceived dimly if at all, that these tales and songs possess a very great value for the elucidation of the social history of mankind. They furnish pictures of the past not otherwise to be seen. They help to keep alive customs and beliefs which would otherwise have died out and so failed to record their testimony in the sociologist's note-book. They prove the substantial uniformity of the working of the human mind under the same physical conditions all over the earth. The fundamental bases of popular thoughts and beliefs are everywhere the same. The particular development is the work of each particular race.

The particular branch of folk-lore found in China has been partially investigated by some able scholars, but the field is so vast as to be practically inexhaustible. Any small contribution to this gigantic work is therefore heartily to be welcomed. Recently, the excellent idea occurred to the editor of the official gazette of the Government University at Peking to ask the scholars to send to him the popular ditties current in their respective provinces or districts. Since these scholars hail from all parts of China a large and valuable collection was thus obtained. In the belief that they may be instructing and interesting to readers of the *New China Review* I propose to translate a portion of them, giving the Chinese text, and some notes where elucidation seems necessary. As a recreation from more laborious work it is pleasant to dip into the lighter kinds of Chinese literature, and if knowledge is to be gained at the same time the pleasure is doubly enhanced.

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The view of the man in the street that these tales and songs of the people are meaningless and useless is superficial. He himself will hum a song as he walks along or read a legend or fairy-tale when he goes home, and, though he does not stop to inquire into causes, he does not do these things because they give him pain. But the very fact that he sings the song or reads the tale because it gives him pleasure and not pain shows that it serves some positive purpose in his life. It may be doubted, for instance, if the singing of psalms and hymns and spiritual songs would have had the vogue it has did they give pleasure to those only in whose praise they were sung and not to the singers themselves, either directly or indirectly. Now if a certain quantity of positive pleasure is derived by the Chinese rustic from the lilting of his ditty, of whatever kind it may be, we have but to multiply that quantity by many millions up to four hundred to see that the total sum of pleasure derivable by the Chinese nation from these little songs is by no means a negligible quantity. We may rightly conclude that, taken as a whole, the nation would be a duller nation without them. Should it be replied that pleasure is not, or at least should not be, the sole object of existence, then I would say that, though that is true, I am at one with those philosophers who hold that pleasure is a legitimate object of pursuit, in and for itself. It may be the sad truth that humanity, in its present phase and mood, prefers amusement to instruction, but that does not detract from the value of amusement itself as a factor in human progress. The function of amusement, like that of music, is to stimulate. It is to the mind what alcohol is to the body, and should supplant it in the vital economy. We have only to consider the physical effect of a good joke ("laugh and grow fat") or the difference between the spring in the step of a regiment headed by a band playing an inspiring tune and the comparative dullness of the musicless march to see that these aesthetic products play a very important part in human existence. As one of the Chinese ditties here translated says, "To sing a song cheers the heart." No one will deny that "Tipperary" and "Gilbert the filbert, the colonel of the knut", and little Renée Myers' dance and song "O won't you come with me, boys, to Berlin on the Spree" killed many a German and many a Turk. Anyone who has not tried the effect of perusing his book of favourite passages in prose and verse on those days when drenching rain drowns all hope of outdoor sport, is lacking in one of the links between pleasure and pleasure which he would do well to forge with as little delay as possible. Dancing, music, poetry, literature, painting, etc.—all the aesthetic products—are not merely so many words, sym-

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bols, or actions, but are instruments for the exaltation of life. As stated above, the sum total of the stimulating pleasure added to the Chinese nation by their ditties alone may be a million-fold greater than is usually supposed. The translator therefore renders a larger service than that of merely changing folk-lore and folk-songs from one language into another. He enables those who could not speak to people of other nationalities in their own language or read their books to participate in the exaltation of life which this lore and these songs help to promote.

Naturally, coming from different districts and different types of Chinese people, the ditties here set forth in English dress are themselves of various kinds. Some are instructive, some both instructive and amusing, some merely amusing, some merely interesting. Most are at least as interesting as the "weather rhymes" of Western countries. The right to a hearing of those which are instructive only, or those which are both instructive and amusing, not being questioned, needs no defence. The right to a hearing of those which are only amusing has, I submit, been logically established in the above remarks. Finally, should there be any of my little folk-songs which can rightly be described as neither instructive, nor amusing, nor even interesting, I would still hold a brief for them on the ground that their often subtle phraseology may at least serve to give the student of Chinese excellent practice in translating them into his own language. If a poet, he might also exercise his gift by trying his hand at putting his translation into graceful verse, without damaging the meaning and spirit of the original Chinese text.

喝　破　眼　一
上　砂　淚　出
四　鑵　不　南
川　吆　乾　津
　　吆　買　關
　　喝　個　雨

Whenever one goes through Nan-ching Pass tears fill the eyes. Buy a broken gravel-pot, and *hung-hung ho-ho* away to Ssŭch'uan !

[This is one of the songs of the boat crews on the Ssŭch'uan rivers, which are notoriously difficult to navigate. A sigh is to be understood after "eyes." "Broken gravel-pot" refers to their poor food, prepared in a cheap crock. "*Hung-hung ho-ho*" is the yodel sung by the men as they haul up the sail.]

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只　怕　奸　奸
怕　你　又　黃
我　奸　狡　陂
沔　不　是　狡
古　怕　漢　孝
老　你　川　感
狡　不　又

Huang-p'o is treacherous, and Hsiao-kan is cunning; but Han-ch'uan is both treacherous and cunning. I fear not your treachery, I fear not your cunning; I fear only my Mien *ku-lao*.

[The old farmers of Hupei say that this song first came into existence after the time of Hung and Yang, of T'aip'ing rebellion fame. Huang-p'o, Hsiao-kan, Han-ch'uan, and Mien [-yang] are names of districts in that province. *Ku-lao*, "ancient-olds," or grey-beards, is a nickname given to themselves by the natives of that district. 陂 is here read *p'o*. Huang-p'o is the native place of the late President Li Yüan-hung.]

還　舅　討　麻
是　娘　了　雀
老　是　老　子
婆　路　婆　尾
好　邊　不　巴
　　草　要　長

The sparrow's tail is long. When he is married he forgets his mother. The mother is the grass by the road-side. The wife is best after all.

[This song is current in Nan-ch'ang, capital of Kiangsi.]

你　娘　着　不　畑　姑　起　養　窗　黑
說　跑　一　怪　袋　娘　來　活　糊　龍
可　了　雙　兩　這　吊　十　個　紙　江
怪　娘　鞋　口　些　着　七　孩　糊　眞
可　不　大　子　怪　個　八　兒　在　是
怪　愛　姑　穿　還　大　的　吊　外　怪

Hei-lung Chiang is indeed peculiar. There the window paper is pasted outside the windows; when rearing a child

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they hang him up ; and a girl of 17 or 18 smokes a large tobacco-pipe. These customs may not be very strange ; but husband and wife wearing one pair of shoes, and when a daughter runs away the mother does not love her [enough to get her back !] How say you, is not that strange ?

[Hei-lung Chiang is in the cold-winter zone. Owing to the great quantity of snow and rain most of the windows have the paper pasted on the outside and covered with oil. The women all have unbound feet, so there is no difference in the men's and women's shoes. Children, when one month old, are hung up in an oblong bamboo cradle attached by a long cord at each end to the ceiling of the house. Whenever the child cries the mother rocks the cradle with her hand. The common saying is, "The work of swinging the cradle is never forgotten, even until death." The second 吊 should be 咬 to hold in the mouth. The last 大, here, "generally," "always."]

黑龍江有三寶人參貂皮靰鞡草

In the province of Hei-lung Chiang there are three precious things, namely, ginseng, sables, and *Chi-la* grass.

[*Chi-la* grass is a special product of Hei-lung Chiang. It grows in damp places, and is as soft as silk. As the climate is cold and the roads both stony and muddy, travelling is difficult, and cloth shoes cannot be used, so the inhabitants make their shoes of skin or hide and give them the name of *wu-la* 烏拉, i.e., *chi-la*, the local pronunciation of *wu-la*, ula grass. The "*Wu-la*" alone being too hard for the feet, they pound a thick lining of grass inside the shoe, so that even when walking in frost or snow the feet are not cold. The grass itself having no name it takes the name of the shoe.]

寧坐三年監不
管臭婊子共一
天事不受三年
罹子不交一年
糜子眞八一不

It is better to be in prison for three years than to associate for one day with a frowsy Chi-tzŭ ; it is better to suffer three years' *pa-lo-tzŭ* than to be friends with [even] a decent Chi-tzŭ.

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[*Pa-lo-tzŭ* is the place of confinement for criminals. Chu Chi-tzŭ (臭 here read *chu*) and Chên Chi-tzŭ are nicknames of the natives of Hei-lung Chiang. The food of the people consists mostly of millet, called by them *chi-tzŭ*, and the name of the food is given to the people. Pa-lo-tzŭ closely resembles the Russian *politsija*, so the word may have been borrowed from the Russian language.]

二十七　莫焦急
二十八　我設法
二十九　有有有
除夕一宵不見面
初一元旦拱拱手

On the 27th, "Don't be anxious." On the 28th, "I am making an arrangement," On the 29th, "I have, I have, I have." On the 30th, "We do not see each other the whole night." On the 1st day of the New Year, "We salute each other!"

[This is the *patois* of the Chiang-pei rustics. It refers to the distressed state of debtors towards the end of the year, when, *more sinico*, all accounts must be settled. The speaker is the debtor. "Money" is to be understood at the end of the third line.]

做天難做四月天
要温和麥要拿
種小菜的哥哥要
落雨採桑娘子要
晴乾

The weather in the fourth month is very severe. The silkworms must be kept warm and the wheat cold. The man who plants small vegetables wishes for rain. The woman who picks mulberry leaves wants fair, dry weather!

[This is current in Chi-hsi, Anhui. *Cf.* the respective mental attitudes of the corn and turnip growers in the West.]

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月明起起做賊
像米聾的聽見
啞的叫起瞧的
趕着瞎的認米
亮月白庭堂賊
來偷家堂聾聾
聽見瞎子看見
說瘸脚追上去
曲手一把拖住

The brilliant moon has risen ; The thief comes to steal some rice. The deaf hear ; The dumb cry out ; The lame pursue ; The blind man identifies the stolen rice !

[This is current in Chi-hsi, Anhui. It might be entitled "The Absolutely Impossible." In Chiang-yin, Kiangsu, it is varied slightly as follows : The moon is very bright. The thief enters the shrine [house] to steal. The deaf hear; The blind see ; The lame run ; The man with the broken arm catches the thief ! *Cf.* "a rope of lamp-grass and a rod of chaff." Lamp-grass is used in medicine.]

來 來 到 到 到 上 上 來 來 的 叫 整 娶 廣 跟 三 井
也 吞 樹 花 墳 整 千 想 淚 我 孟 養 了 怕 着 歲 裡
嘗 一 梢 鞋 顎 柱 張 親 汪 喝 良 活 個 爹 爹 二 開
嘗 嘴 上 上 上 香 紙 娘 汪 湯 孟 了 後 爹 爹 歲 花
野 老 鼻 淚 一 右 左 拿 端 良 個 娘 娶 還 沒 嘗
鵲 烏 子 點 走 手 手 起 起 吃 小 三 後 好 了 蓉
過 過 掙 滿 走 拿 拿 箸 碗 稠 小 年 娘 過 娘 長

The stalks of the flowers in the well are long. When a boy is only two or three years old and his mother dies, he can live very comfortably with his father. His only fear is that his father will provide him with a step-mother, and three years after the marriage she will give birth to a son whose name will be Mêng Liang. Mêng Liang will eat the solid part of the macaroni, and I shall have only the remaining gravy. When the bowl is in my hand my tears flow. When I take up the chop-sticks I think of my mother. Then in my left hand I take a thousand pieces of mock money, and in my right a bundle of incense sticks, and go to the tomb. The tears from my eyes drop on to my embroidered shoes, and those from my nose on to the branches of the trees....

[This is current in Kao-i, Chihli. Mêng Liang is apparently so christened merely for the sake of the rhyme. The last two lines are best left untranslated.]

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山西雀山西飛
沒娘的孩子吃
的虧白天裡不
得好飯吃黑夜
裡不得熟炕睡
枕什麼枕棒錘
蓋什麼蓋簸箕
厂乂力乂厂乂
力乂打鼾睡

The Shansi sparrow flies to Shansi. The loss suffered by the orphan is that in the daytime he cannot get good food to eat and in the night has no warm *k'ang* to sleep on. What is his pillow? It is a wooden hammer. What is his coverlet? It is a winnowing-fan. (Sounds of snoring.)

[This is also current in Kao-i. The wooden hammer is used for pounding cloth.]

拍大胖唱山歌人人都欺我無老婆拿起肝幾個有錢娶個婊女無錢娶個婊皮豆

Strike the belly! Sing the mountain song! Everyone despises me because I have no wife. Because, on this account, my anger is aroused, I marry many; when I have money I marry a beautiful girl; when I have none I marry an ugly one!

[大胖 *sc.* 肚皮. 拿 *sc.* 惱. This is current in Kuangchou (Canton), Kuangtung.]

墻頭上一株草
風吹兩邊倒今
日有客來舍子
好鯽魚好鯉魚
肚裡緊愀愀爲
舍子不殺牛牛
說道耕田犁地
都是我爲舍子
不殺馬馬說道
接官送官都是
我爲舍子不殺
羊羊說道角兒
彎彎朝北斗爲
舍子不殺狗狗
說道看家守舍
都是我爲舍子
不殺豬豬說道
沒得說一把尖
刀戳出血

The tuft of grass on the wall is swaying in the wind. To-day a guest arrives. What is there ready to eat? There is the carp; but the carp makes a sound of disapproval with its stomach. Why not kill the ox? The ox says: "I am needed for ploughing and harrowing the fields." Why not kill the horse? The horse says: "I go out to receive the officials and see them off." Why not kill the sheep? The sheep says: "My horns curve gracefully towards the North Star." Why not kill the dog? The dog says: "I watch and protect the house."

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Why not kill the pig? The pig says: "I have nothing to say;" so a sharp knife lets out his life-blood.

[This is current in Anhui and Hupei. The sheep evidently defends himself on the ground of being ornamental if not useful.]

磕睡虫磕睡虫
磕睡來了不由
人惟願婆婆早
早死讓小媳婦
一覺睡到大天
明狗察那裡講
磕睡虫磕睡虫
磕睡來了不由
人惟願婆婆百
百歲管得小媳
婦自成人鍋頭
碗上冷粥帶去
吃了粥每冷氷
氷菜每二三根
筷每水伶仃狗
察那裡講粥每
熱溫溫菜每油
呑呑箸每眞乾
淨

"Sleep bug! sleep bug! When the sleep bug comes one has no longer control of one's self. I only hope that my mother-in-law will die soon, so that the small wife [I] may sleep all through the night till dawn. (Bother it! what am I saying?) Sleep bug! sleep bug! When the sleep bug comes one has no longer control of one's self. I only hope my mother-in-law will live to be a hundred years old, to see that I grow up properly." (The porridge in the bowl on the hearth is cold. She takes it and eats it). "The porridge is cold as ice; the vegetables are only a few snips; the chopsticks are dirty. (Bother it! what am I saying?) The porridge is hot; the vegetables luscious; and the chopsticks beautifully clean!"

[磕 睡 虫 an insect that causes drowsiness. 磕 properly 瞌]

子吹塘過水汪汪照堂月
香蓮風菱滿洋洋見堂亮

How brilliantly the moon shines, reflecting itself in the broad lake! The water from the broad lake overflows into the caltrop pond. The perfume of the lotus-blossoms is wafted by the wind.

[Current in Anhui and Hupei.]

將身打馬過田莊
見一公公在路旁
請問公公多少歲
家居何縣幷何方
可有兒郎可有女
可有家當並田莊
老漢今年九十九
老妻一百差一雙
等到皇上開令榜
明年樹個百歲坊
五個孩兒不學
(此句疑有奪字)
都在朝中伴君王
大孩兒當朝爲宰
相二孩兒禮部在
中堂三孩兒雲南
爲總督吏部天官
第四郎要算五郎
年紀小新科獨占
狀元郎還有一個
小女十八歲朝中
選去做娘娘

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A general, when riding across a farm, saw an old man standing by the roadside. He said to him: "May I ask your age, Sir, your native place, how many sons and daughters you have, and the value of your real and personal property?" "I am ninety-nine this year," he answered; "my wife is a hundred less a couple of years. When the emperor next issues the 'golden list' I will have a *p'ai-lou* erected to me in honour of my having completed the century. I have five uncultured sons. They are all serving the emperor in the court. The eldest holds the position of Prime Minister; the second is President of the Board of Rites; the third has been appointed Viceroy of Yünnan; the fourth is President of the Board of Justice; and the fifth, still a junior, has recently passed first at the Palace Examination. Besides these I have a daughter, eighteen years of age, who has been selected to be the emperor's wife."

[There is some inconsistency as regards the first and fourth sons, since these two posts were one and the same in ancient times. 金榜 is perhaps better than 今榜. This and the following seven ditties are current in Anhui and Hupeh.]

唱支曲解心寬
挑担綾羅上高
山高山頂石臺
石橙石闌干紫
竹開花賽牡丹
爺做狀元兒做
官

唱支曲解心寬
挑担綾羅上高
山山頂廟門開
三個學生進廟
來一個裝香兩
個拜保佑先生
中秀才秀才騎
馬馬頭高一根
馬鞭十八節讀
書之人節節高

To sing a song cheers the heart. Carrying my load of silks I climb up the high mountain. On the summit are stone terraces, stone benches, stone balustrades. The violet bamboo blossoms are as beautiful as the peonies. One's father becomes a *chuang yüan*, one's son an official.

To sing a song cheers the heart. Carrying my load of silks I climb up the high mountain. The door of the temple on the summit is open. Three students enter it; one burns a stick of incense, the other two kneel to the idols praying that they may become *hsiu-ts'ai* graduates. A *hsiu-ts'ai* has a whip of eighteen joints and rides a horse which holds its head high. Those who study will be promoted step after step.

[挑. 担. loads swung from each end of a bamboo pole placed across the shoulder. The length of the whip and bearing of the horse are cases of vicarious ostentation.]

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交辦線館元賣湯了完交長此女么弟鞋擺學生生你我去渣此小
交繫上賣湯元了辦了長小唱弟紅搖擺上先生打我回口來男唱
交辦線館元賣湯了完交長此女么弟鞋擺學生生你我去渣此小

With my curly, curly pigtail,
Tied with red cord,
I go to the tea-house,
To buy congee balls.
The congee balls are all sold—
My curly, curly pigtail
Has grown quite straight!

(This is sung by little girls.)

Tiny, tiny young brother,
Wearing his red shoes,
Come swaggering to school.
"Teacher, teacher, do not beat me!
I will go home and take a drink of my mother's milk!"

(This is sung by little boys.)

[Congee balls are eaten on the 15th of the 1st moon. 么. is used by Soochow people for 小. Red shoes are worn by young children. The 鄂. Hupei people call milk 渣. 渣.]

滿月回門望嫂哥嫂
嫂聽着旁人說打發
鴉鬟泡滿茶堂前見
過家常禮姑娘 你
到他家去到一月姑
爺待你如何嫂嫂
你是前生前世修得
到今生今世嫁把我
家哥我是前生前世
修不到今生今世嫁
着个酒糊塗頭不曾
上床脚睡下枕頭倒
枕就打呼姑娘 等
得哥哥回來日勸得
鸞鳳合成雙嫂嫂
若是眞眞有那日坐
轎回門謝嫂哥

One month after marriage I return to my home to see my elder brother and his wife. My sister-in-law, hearing of my return, sends the maid-servant to make some tea for me. After I have paid my respects to her [she says]: "My younger sister, you have now been a month at your husband's house; how does he treat you? "My elder sister," [I reply] "how fortunate it is that you married my elder brother! I am so unfortunate as to have married a stupid drunkard. He sleeps with his head at the foot of the bed, and no sooner does it touch the pillow than he is sound asleep!" "Dear younger sister," [says she] "when my husband comes back he will reconcile you two." "My elder sister," [I reply] "if that is really so I will return in my chair to thank you both!"

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橘子皮　桂花香　打開城　門嫁哥　娘姑娘　不嫁的　留得屋　裡說鬮　的姑娘　不抬的　留得

Orange-peel and cassia-scent ! The city gate is opened for the bride to go to her husband. But there are many who are not allowed to marry, but merely are left in their apartments to rail; there are many who are not borne away in sedan-chairs [to be married], but merely are left in their apartments to gamble.

[This is a complaint put into the mouth of one grieving over the neglect of women's education in early times. The antiquity of the song is shown by the peculiar rhymes 嫁 and 鬮; 抬 and 牌.]

搖大船打大鼓　阿娘喜討新婦　新婦新婦幾時　歸臘月二十四　歸帶得舍子歸　帶得糕糕場歸　公一份婆一份　姑娘小叔合一　份大也爭小也　爭拿棒來打畜　生畜生打不着　打了新婦好小　脚三尺布攏裹　藥

The great ship sails, the big drum is beaten. The mother rejoices that her son has taken a wife. "Bride ! bride ! when will you come back ?" She returns on the 24th day of the 12th moon, bringing with her some provisions in the shape of cakes and puddings. One-third is given to the father, one-third to the mother, and one-third to the sister and younger brother between them. As the brother and sister quarrel, the parents take a big stick to punish them. But the blow misses the youngsters and lands on the small foot of the bride ! So they get a bandage three feet long and bind it up, after anointing it with unguents.

楊人年五二金堂一一屋中間送出　柳笑我姊妹回來上街賣拜哥以一淋　樹結疤多多七三人
不一說說荐裡妹短妹嫂之眼叫指碗一來拜來上聽妹年人楊
回伸冬冬留有那被妹把也一妹甲莧碗一一堂金妹二五笑柳
娘手瓜瓜得蓑裡有歇脚哥音妹摘菜魚碗杯屋街回妹年我樹
家一正絕蓋荐歇窄嫂一叫殺同之不不肉冷中嫂來來嫁姊結
　投開乏冬嫂哥留說踢妹以上也音鮑血茶間聽帶看一妹疤
　總花了瓜說說得床哥妹目嫂根恰鱗淋送拜妹桿哥个多多
　總脚嫂哥蓑田妹有叫吃止把哥以一淋出一回稱哥七三人

Every one laughs at me for having as many sisters as the willow tree has scars. Every three or five years one of them is married off. Then the seventh and second sisters return to see

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their elder brother. The latter, hearing they have returned, shoulders his steelyard and goes to Gold Street [market]. When his wife hears they have returned, after the exchange of salutations, she sends them out a cold cup of tea, a bowl of meat, but dripping with blood, a bowl of fish, but with the scales not removed, and a bowl of vegetables with the roots still on! When the elder brother calls "Sisters!..." his wife stops him with a glance. When he asks them to eat she gives him a kick. When he asks them to stay the night she says the bed is small and the coverlet narrow—how on earth can they put them up? When he says there is plenty of straw in the field, she says the straw is wanted to cover the winter pumpkins. When he says the pumpkins are all dead, she says they are just in bloom. So the sisters become angry, take their leave, and never return!

海龍王家三小姐
家做夫人丈夫又
婆有得嫌公公罰
八百支婆婆罰我
明要半斤老羊不
不等鷄啼要四兩
草要吃西邊露水
指頭威扇切剔也
淋雞得金家嫂嫂
包飯送與守羊人
聲守羊人低叫一
嬸難得金家嫂好
書送與爹爹此句
亦欠自然疑有誤
我帶得血書到一
與他涼誰人將我
書到一條手巾送
塵血書帶到大廳
一見吃一驚問我
我是你家三小姐
我他七日七夜長
脫金家一姓人丈
滓油煎叔嬸伯嬸
上夫江帶是上他
西公水書何龍柏
天婆推人人王灰
帶把誰不叫聲高好得根吃不搓我不嫁
得破人入我金叫手血十東等蘇守愛把
血扇將韵寫家一巾淋个邊天繩羊公金

The Dragon-king's third daughter was married into the Gold family. But her husband did not love her and her parents-in-law treated her badly. "My father-in-law made me herd eight hundred sheep during the day, and my mother-in-law made me spin thread — four ounces before cock-crow and half a catty before daybreak! The old sheep did not like the grass on the eastern side, but ate that on the western side, where it was covered with dew. All my ten fingers were lacerated. Fortunately the Gold's aunt was kind to me, and brought provisions in a handkerchief to the shepherd, calling me in a loud voice 'Shepherd' [when at a distance] but [when close at hand] addressing me softly as 'Mrs. Gold.' Fortunately the Gold's aunt was kind to me, and suggested my writing a letter to my father. 'Whoso will take this letter of grief for me will be rewarded with a broken fan; whoso will take this letter of grief for me will be rewarded with a torn handkerchief to wipe off the dust!'"

When the letter reached the Dragon-king's palace, the king was much surprised and asked the messenger who he was. He

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replied: "I am the messenger from your third daughter." The Dragon-king then, as a punishment, caused the Yangtzŭ River to overflow for seven days and seven nights, drowning the whole Gold family. The husband and parents-in-law were boiled in oil, but the uncle and aunt were sent up to the Western Paradise.

[The predilection of the sheep for the dewy grass is mentioned to indicate the labour imposed on the shepherd of constantly driving them back.]

掃帚繫着　黃金鎖痛　娘爲窮賣　了我一賣　賣給個使　船的郎吃　的大米乾　飯餅魚湯　白天聽着　鵝鴨叫黑　夜聽着山　水響有心　跟着山水　走又怕山　水無盡頭

The golden lock is fastened to the broom. My mother being poor sold me. She sold me to be a sailor. My food is rice and fresh fish soup. During the day I listen to the cry of the geese and the ducks; at night I listen to the sound of the rivulets on the hill-sides. I would like to go and follow the course of the rivulets, but fear that they would not lead me to my desired end [i.e., home].

火亮大做二打兩婦虫媽籠子挑
筷篾蓬虫蓬子縫子工媳牙媽燈頭鬍桶
火筷蓬虫兒裁兒長個取老糊白老養

The fire-fly's light is very bright. The eldest son is a tailor, the second a farm labourer. Both their wives take the worms out of teeth. The old mother pastes paper lanterns; the white-bearded old father carries the night-soil tub.

[Toothache is (or was) supposed by the Chinese to be caused by worms in the teeth, the extraction (of the worms) being chiefly done by women. This ditty refers to the necessity of each member of a poor family being obliged to engage in some occupation: if any will not work neither shall he eat."]

(To be continued.)

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A GOLD COIN OF THE MING DYNASTY

BY

A. M. TRACEY WOODWARD, F.R.G.S., F.R.N.S.

The question whether gold in the form of an actual coin, either moulded or minted, did or did not exist in China before the republican régime, has been touched upon only superficially by earlier writers. Some have asserted its existence, whilst other authorities have negatived it. The preponderance of opinion appears to favour the theory that gold as a medium of currency, existed only between B.C. 1122 and A.D. 224. It is well therefore, before treating upon the recently 'discovered' coin which forms the subject of this article, to refer to the statements of writers on Chinese currency, coins and kindred subjects, with particular regard to the use of gold in relation thereto.

For early notes on Chinese gold, I must first refer to that distinguished student of things oriental, Terrien de Lacouperie, and a few quotations from his numismatic *chef-d'œuvre*, the *Catalogue of Chinese Conns from the VIIth Cent. B.C. to A.D.* 621, are instructive. His first mention of gold is under date of B.C. 1091: "In the thirteenth year of Tcheng, second King of Tchou, his minister, Kiang Tai Kung, establishes the nine Treasury Offices, and regulates the currency in metal and silk (gold in cubic-inch, bronze in rings, . . .). The historical statement is given in the *Tsien Han Shu*, or *Annals of the Former Han Dynasty* (Shih ho, iv. 2). With reference to metal, it says: 黃金方寸而重一斤錢圜函方輕重以銖 which we understand as 'gold was in square inch, weighing one *kin*, bronze money was round, tongue-like and in squares and their weight was ascertained by *tchus*"* Under date B.C. 221, we find: "The King of Ts'in 秦紀 assumes the title of She Hwang-

*Introduction, p. X.

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ti 始皇帝, 'the first universal Emperor.' The use of gems, pearls, tortoise-shells, cowries, and tin is henceforth forbidden for currency. Issue of a new coinage, . . . and for gold in small cubes *yh*." * These *Yh's* weighed one pound, in similarity to those under the Tchou dynasty. † In A.D. 7, Sin Wang Mang 新王莽, as Regent, issued round coins, and having assumed the supreme power in A.D. 10, he "discontinues his coinage of knife-money and establishes new sorts of currency, in gold, silver, . . ." ‡ This gold currency was regulated by and named 斤 *kin* 'pound,' and had the value of ten thousand copper cash, but no specimens of these gold pieces are now found, and it is unfortunate that no precise description of their design has survived. § Under date of A.D. 558-565, it is declared that Sassanian gold and silver coins circulated under the Northern Tchou dynasty in Shensi. ¶ Lacouperie only treats on Chinese coins up to A.D. 621, and it may readily be assumed that so many centuries ago, when metal was comparatively scarce, the officials and gentry were chary to bury their dead with other than copper cash pieces, since such highly prized metal as gold or silver was probably unnecessary to act as a sesame at the gates of the Nether World for the departing spirit.

In the *Stewart Lockhart Collection of Chinese Copper Coins* published in 1915, reference is made to gold. Of several thousand years ago, it quotes the Historical Records of Ssŭ-ma-Ch'ien (司馬遷), or 史記 *Shih Chi*, for the statement that the media of barter under the Emperor Shun (舜), B.C. 2255, and during the Hsia dynasty, B.C. 2205-1818, were of three kinds of metal, described as yellow (gold); white (silver); and red (copper). Ma Tuan-lin (馬端臨) avers that at the commencement of the Han dynasty, B.C. 206, the place of pearls, jade, tortoise-shells and gems as currency, was substituted by gold and copper. ‖ Some Chinese authorities have declared that the casting of metallic money was done to tide over a temporary emergency, and that this casting ceased as soon as the stress of the times relented. A more extensive reference is made to gold on pages X-XI which is worth quoting in full. "The metals used for media of exchange have been gold, silver, copper, iron, white metal and lead. *No gold coins have been cast*, ⁋ but in the Chou dynasty there were gold pieces an inch square and weighing one *Chin* 斤 or 16 *Liang* or ounces, from which they were called either 一斤 *1 Chin*, one

* Introduction, p. XIV. † Chapter VIII, p. 338. ‡ Introduction, p XV. § Interregnum, p. 381. ¶ Introduction, p. XVI. ‖ Introduction pp. IV-V. ⁋ The italics are mine.

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chin, or 一金 *1 Chin*—one gold piece. In the Ch'in dynasty the gold unit was one 鎰 I or *20 Liang* or ounces and was called 上幣 *Shang Pi*, money of higher value, copper being designated *Hsia Pi* 下幣, money of lower value. The Han dynasty reverted to the Chin 斤 or gold unit of the Chow dynasty and in the year B.C. 95 the Emperor Hsiao Wu Ti 孝武帝 had gold pieces made into the shape of the foot of the unicorn and the hoof of a horse to celebrate the auspicious appearance in that year of a white unicorn, of a famous horse and of gold in the Mountain of T'ai Shan.* It appears, therefore, that during the Chou, Ch'in and Han dynasties there was a gold standard of value represented by a certain weight, as well as copper currency. As time went on the gold standard was replaced by a silver standard . . . ." In chüan 369, page 6, Kuan Tzŭ 管子 states that when Liu Kuang-shih 劉光世 was governor of Hupeh, *circa* A.D. 1130-1131, he cast gold, silver and copper coins, but Stewart Lockhart regards them as tokens, mentioning as reason therefor, that they were not strictly a regular Government issue.†

A curious passage in the *Su-chow-fu chih*,‡ a book on Soochow topography, throws some light on old Chinese gold coins. It states that during A.D. 1175, one Han Yen-ku, then a brigadier stationed at Soochow ordered the execution in that city of a Shupan, for acts of bribery. As a result of carrying into effect the extreme penalty, the culprit's property was confiscated, and an enormous amount of gold was found in his possession, given as—gold shoes, 15,720 taels; gold wine cups weighing 6,730 taels; five pecks of small gold lumps; *gold coins*, 60 *strings*,§ and other gold articles. Brigadier Han shortly afterwards lost his life in the Nü-chên Tartar war.¶ The above statement, if correct, would lead to the inference that during the twelfth century gold generally, and gold coins in particular, must have been immensely in circulation. Possibly this gold was the same as the coins mentioned by *Kuan Tzŭ*.

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*Kuan Tzŭ, Chap. 335, p. i.

†In view of much provincial copper currency having been issued during many centuries, and implicitly accepted by numerous numismatics as coins, and the more recent continuous production of minted provincial coins, this statement may be regarded as too sweeping. What is—especially in China—a strictly Government issue, that is to say, an issue strictly made by the Central Government's authority, is a subject which should arouse considerable controversy, and would at best narrow itself to expressions of opinion only.

‡Chap. 145, p. 44.

§The mention of strings, would tempt us to believe that those gold coins must have had a hole of some shape in the middle to thread them by.

¶Edkins. *Chinese Currency*.

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Wagel, whilst insisting that the real basis of currency in China has been neither gold nor silver, but copper, still asserts that "for thousands of years China has been using gold and silver, although there has been no continuity in the use of either one of the metals or both as currency." * Of all authors on Chinese currency or coins in general, Wagel writes in the most positive strain. "During the dynasty of Hsia (B.C. 1990 to 1558) and Shang (B.C. 1558 to 1150) gold, silver and copper money were in circulation besides the well-known cowrie shells." † In dwelling upon the prohibitive order of the Ts'in ruler forbidding the use of cowrie shells, pearls, gems and precious stones in barter, he states that "the units of the gold coin were the *Yi*, twenty taels in weight and the *Chin*, sixteen taels in weight; these were used as currency quite extensively." ‡ Referring to Wang Mang's usurpation of the throne, mention is made that there were twenty-eight different kinds of money during his reign from A.D. 7 to 22; "there were gold, silver of two qualities, four grades of tortoise-shell, five grades of cowrie shells, ten grades of Pu or bell-shaped money and six grades of copper coinage." § It would seem that after all, Wagel was not satisfied that all this gold money was in actual coin shape, and in explaining that the policy of the Government *up to the close of the eighth century* ¶ was regulated by the principle that the coinage of metals was only for the convenience of trade, he says that "gold and silver were used as commodity money almost all through this period; no efforts were, however, made to coin these precious metals." ‖

Of more recent publication (1917), the *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, —that monster-masterpiece on anything Chinese states under the heading of 'Numismatics' that "*Gold has never been cast in coins.*" ⁋ But, be it remarked, this was before the coin forming the subject of this article was found, and the statement was ostensibly correct as having presumably been based on the declaration of earlier authors.

So much for the chronicles of the past. In its issue of 8th April, 1921, the *North-China Daily News* wrote: "A morsel of unwritten history saw the light a few days ago near the old Magistrate's yamên in the native city.° Workmen engaged on excavation at the new water works site dug up a number of jute-

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* Wagel. *Chinese Currency and Banking*, p. 35. † pp. 35,36; ‡ p. 36. § p. 37. ¶ The italics are mine. ‖ Wagel. p. 38. ⁋ The italics are mine. ° A native version says in front of the Chih Dah Temple in the Shanghai City.

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bags containing coins, inscribed "Wung Woo," * "Hsuan Teh," † and "Chia Chêng" ‡ (Ming Dynasty). The astonished workmen lost no time in offering some of the coins for sale to passers-by and a large crowd was quickly attracted by this unusual and no doubt fascinating sight. It was inevitable, of course, that where money was in process of changing hands an official should appear. A Chinese police constable looked into the matter, reported to an inspector, and the inspector promptly annexed the money bags and carried them off to headquarters, on the principle that treasure trove is the property of the Government. Zeal of this kind deserves reward, and we should not be at all surprised if, in this connexion, the inspector's intelligence anticipates forgetfulness on the part of his august masters." Some days later, upon Peking hearing of the find, instructions were promptly telegraphed down ordering that the coins be sent on to the Capital. Two weeks later, I was approached by a native money dealer who showed me the three-quarters of a gold coin inscribed 正德通寶, Chêng Tê T'ung Pao or Currency of the Chêng Tê Period. After purchasing the gold piece, although the dealer refused to explain the circumstances which led to its having been brought to me, he admitted that it came from the above find, adding in typical Chinese fashion: 'more better no talkee other man how fashion have catchee this curio money, my belong only sell man.' Whether it formed one of the coins sold by the workmen who discovered the bags, or whether it found its way into private hands during the transitory period of its possession by the inspector, headquarters, 'august masters,' in transport to Peking, or when in Peking itself, has not, and will very likely never be revealed.

Expert opinion was sought. One authority, whilst admitting its age, considered it more in the nature of an amulet; this latter, is, however, an ornament generally inscribed with mystic characters, not "Currency of the Chêng Tê Period." § Should we then consider it a charm coin? In its present state, the weight is 125.74 grammes; diameter 48.5mm.; thickness slightly irregular, from 7.5 to 8mm.; cast in red gold, but altered on the surface into dull yellow by long contact with water filtered through

*Probably "Hung Wu" (洪武) A.D. 1368-1398.

†Hsüan Tê (宣德) A.D. 1426-1435.

‡Chia Ching (嘉靖) A.D. 1522-1566.

§The Glover collection contained a very large number of charm coins and amulets; all bear various devices and legends, but none are inscribed 通寶 'Currency.'

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alluvial soil; it is a little corroded. Exactly fifteen millimetres are missing from the right angle diameter, we are thus able to determine the weight, when in its original entirety, at about 179.77 grammes or say 4.75 taels. Allowing a quarter tael for corrosion and graft, for the officials under the Ming dynasty were no exception to their predecessors or successors. We have then a coin ostensibly made to represent five taels in gold, or the equivalent of fifty taels in silver, the ratio of these two metals being, in former times, 10 to 1.* I have before me several fifty-tael gold pieces minted during the T'ung Chih period, A.D. 1862-1874, *id est*, representing the nominal value of fifty taels of silver, the pieces themselves weighing about five taels of gold; this fact would apparently corroborate the above deduction, notwithstanding that the minted pieces were made at a considerably later period; but of these coins, more anon. Should we then, in view of the facts *ut supra* of a specific and standard weight having been given to the piece, designate it a charm coin?

Type I in the plate shows the recently delved coin in its present state; Type II, a drawing of it made by a Chinese artist, from records known of the tendencies, customs and trend of ideas believed to have existed during the Chêng Tê period, A.D. 1506-1521, and it purports to show the state of the coin in its original condition. Types IV A. and B. are coins in copper cast during the Chêng Tê period; these and the woodblock prints illustrating the Glover collection,† show that during the Chêng Tê period, the custom of placing an allegorical dragon and also a phœnix in the design of coins, was a prevalent one. Type III is the reproduction of a piece of Chinese jade carved during the Ch'ien Lung (A.D. 1736-1795) period as a charm. The remarkable feature of this jade is its size and inscription. In diameter the exact replica of the gold coin—48.5 mm.; in thickness exactly half—4 mm.; the inscription reads the same 正德通寶, but it is manifestly clear that this jade piece at such a late period of Chinese civilization, did not, nor was it meant to, act as currency. The reverse shows the design of a dragon and phœnix facing each other, somewhat according to the fancies that prevailed during the Chêng Tê period. All these inscriptions, size *et cetera* correspond in a most strange degree

*Morse in *The Trade and Administration of China* 3rd Ed. p. 141 states that, "the standard introduced by the T'ang dynasty and continuing in theory until to-day was a part of a bimetallic system, or even of a trimetallic system, by which, in value, 1 gold = 10 silver = 1,000 copper, these being the metallic exchange equivalents in China thirteen centuries ago."

†Stewart Lockhart. *The Currency of the Farther East.* Vol. II pp. 69,70.

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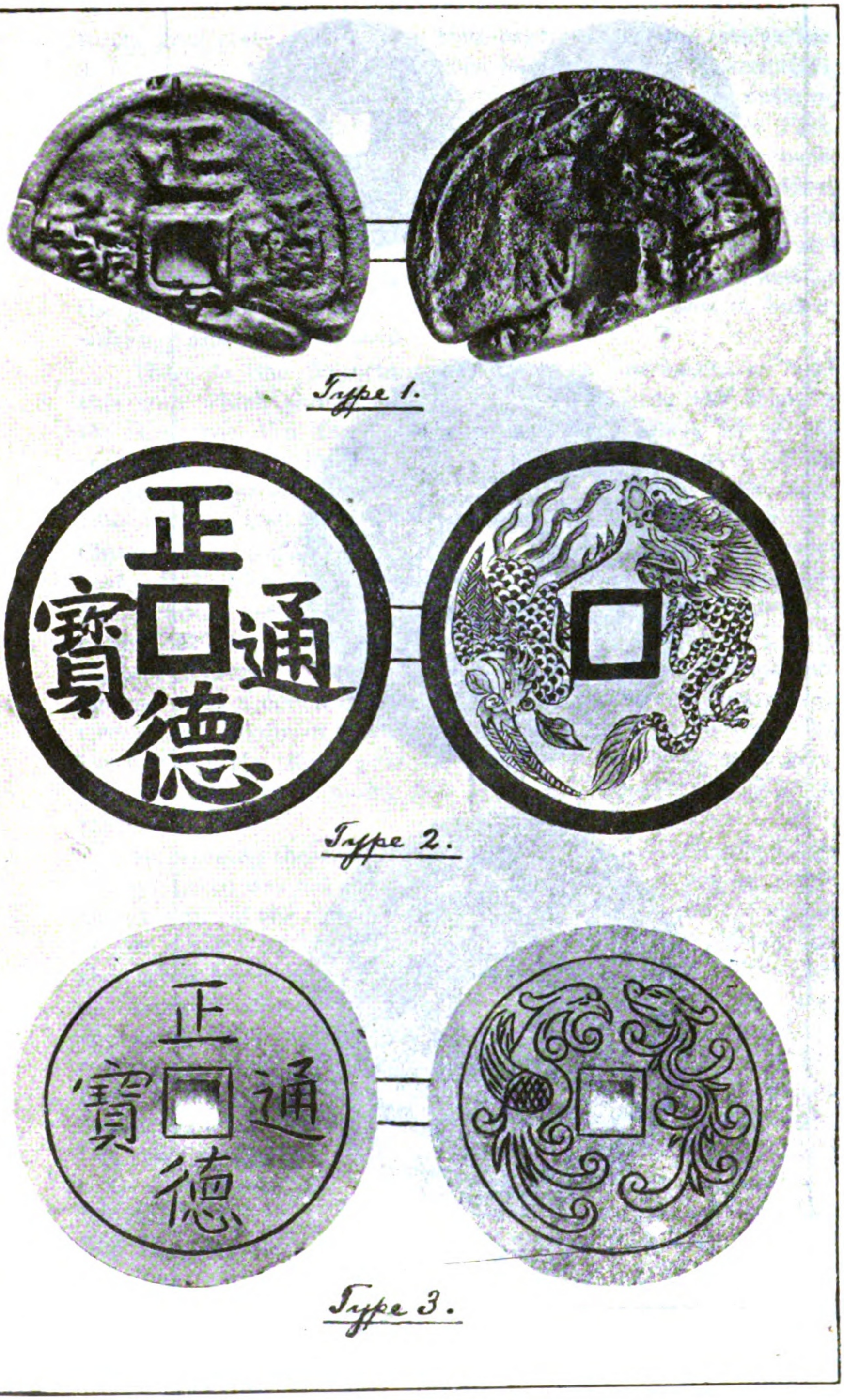

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to the gold piece, and having been carved at such a late period, it is evident that the jade piece was copied from something important, say from the gold fifty-tael piece, to serve as a charm. Incidentally, this would tend to prove that as late as A.D. 1736-1795, the gold coin was still in circulation. Is it unreasonable to assert that the latter is a *sine qua non* of the former ? If then, the gold piece is to be considered a charm coin, why should its replica in jade to serve as a charm, have been considered at all ? It is obvious that if the jade charm was apparently inspired by the gold piece, the latter was not regarded as a charm, but as currency and issued as such.

There is one important circumstance in connexion with this coin which should not be ignored. During the reign of the Emperor Wu Tsung under the title of Chêng Tê 正德, copper coins were little issued,* but during the reign of his immediate predecessor under the title of 洪治 Hung Chih—A.D. 1488-1505, as well as of his successor under the title 嘉靖 Chia Ching—A.D. 1522-1566, a fair number of copper coins were cast. It has been advanced that for this reason—a very slim one, it would seem strange that a coin in gold should have been issued between the two reigns. Although China is a great paradoxical country, in this instance it can well be that this militates against such a conclusion, since it probably is that because the circulation of coins of small denomination was thought ample for the needs of the times, gold coins were cast, ensuring, as it were, the possibility of reducing five thousand coppers into a single piece.

In bringing these arguments to a close, it may be added that this gold coin was not excavated from a grave, but dug up within the ex-walls of the Shanghai City. Investigation into the annals of the locality where it was found, disclosed the important fact that a few hundred years ago, the Ground Tax Office of the City of Shanghai stood over the spot. What prompted the bags containing coins generally to be secreted underground, should not remain a mystery. Also, why in the city itself, beneath the very floor of that tax office and by whom, may be ascribed to a person connected with officialdon whose scruples were not immaculate, but who reaped as reward only the preservation of his secret unto eternal oblivion. Should we then conclude that this daily handler of currency of the realm was unconscious of the fact that this gold piece was only a charm coin ? or must we grant

*The Stewart Lockhart collection does not contain any, and the Glover collection contained nine pieces only.

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him the benefit of the doubt, and assume that his power of discrimination between a gold coin as currency, was perspicuous enough to realize its complete impotency, were it only a charm coin? Further, if the solution of the mystery of this treasure trove is correctly ascribed to an employee of the Ground Tax Office, even if the piece was intended as a charm coin, was it tendered and accepted in payment of taxes? Circumstantial evidence and logical deductions reply affirmatively, and hence it follows that the charm coin nature of the gold piece *de facto* ceases, retaining its "charm," only where its power of purchase is concerned, much the same as the charm which money in our day possesses. It may be remarked incidentally, that not only did the coin occupy less space underneath the floor in the earth, but entailed less labour in burying it, probably precipitately done,—than its equivalent of 5,000 copper coins would have involved.

How then should this gold piece be classified? I have endeavoured to advance the pros and cons., but the answer to the question remains indefinite. Perhaps an appeal to our readers may bring forth important revelations and thereby we may attain the desired goal.

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MR. WALEY AND "THE LUTE GIRL'S SONG"

BY

PROF. H. A. GILES, LL.D.

I was much struck at the time of the great Missionary Conference in 1878 by a remark from Dr. Edkins, who had been working with distinction at the language and literature of China for no fewer than twenty-nine years. He spoke of "statements which he had made years ago and had then to correct as imperfect or erroneous" (see *Record*, p. 69).

Now, I have always maintained that students of Chinese should make known as soon as possible any errors, fancied or real, which they may detect in the work of their predecessors or contemporaries. Unfortunately this system is very sparsely adopted, authors being often as thin-skinned about their literary efforts as Sir Fretful Plagiary himself, with the result that critics are deterred from hurting feelings which ought not to exist, and which assuredly ought not to be spared. Irritation at the discovery of a mistake should be confined to a personal regret for having made it, and not extended to the discoverer, coupled with satisfaction—here's the rub !—that Chinese scholarship will move a step forward.

I have been led into this rambling discourse by Mr. Waley's "Notes on the Lute-Girl's Song," vol. ii, p. 591, of this *Review*, about which I should like to say at once that whether he is right or wrong, Mr. Waley does good service by challenging interpretations which do not appear to him to be satisfactory ; on the broad ground that "Truth's like a torch : the more it's shook it shines," which is always a much better foundation for criticism than a petulant "tit-for-tat with John Russell." In any case, so far as I am concerned, no apology will ever be necessary ; and I will now proceed to make my own remarks on Mr. Waley's strictures.

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1.—I did not translate the Preface, for the simple reason that it was not given with the text on which I worked in 1882. I drew my story of the poem chiefly from the poem itself. The poet says, "fever-stricken I reached this spot, where in its desolation, from year's end to year's end no flute or guitar is heard. I live by the marshy river-bank, surrounded by yellow reeds and stunted bamboos," etc., etc. It is difficult to reconcile these words with "the rank of sub-Prefect in the city of Kiukiang," no mean rank in no mean city. Meanwhile, thanks to Mr. Waley for the Preface, his rendering of which he should compare, for amusement, with that of Mr. Cranmer Byng in "A Lute of Jade," p. 76, which is followed by my translation of this poem, choppped up into lines, with no acknowledgment of the source.

2.—Mr. Waley says that he retains the title by which the poem is best known to English readers. I have hitherto been under the impression that I introduced the piece in 1884 to English readers and christened it with a title which I thought would be more suggestive than "Lines for the Lute" which is the real translation of 琵琶行, the last character of which is not, I believe, associated in any way with "song," except as derived from this famous poem. Nor is the above the only Chinese title under which the poem, with Preface, is found. In editions of 1606 and 1703 we find 琵琶引 which I take to mean "The Story of the Lute."

3.—I never for a moment imagined that any of Po Chü-i's lines were sung by the girl, as Mr. Waley implies. This is proved by my rendering, "Then *every note she struck* swelled with pathos deep and strong, *as though telling the tale* of a wrecked and hopeless life."

4.—楓葉荻花秋瑟瑟 is not the text which I translated. For 荻 read 貶 which alters the sense completely and also greatly improves it. Maple leaves in autumn are said by the Chinese to look like flowers; the collocation of the maple-tree with a small reed is very unconvincing. The *T'u shu* gives a third reading, 蕭.

5.—Mr. Waley objects to my translation of 回燈 "Lamps trimmed again." The fact is that I translated the alternative text, mentioned by Mr. Waley, 攜燈 which he says means "carried, brought, which is much easier." He has mistranslated both terms. (*a*) 攜 has been, since the days of the 說文 a synonym of 提, which is often used for the colloquial 挑 in the sense of trimming, *i.e.* picking up the wick of a lamp to make it burn more brightly—how often have I seen it done and done it myself.

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(*b*) Of 回燈 Mr. Waley says, "Literally it must mean 'lamps turned round,'" which to me means nothing. Mr. Waley ought to have deduced the meaning from the context; it is really obvious enough. The festivity to speed the parting guest was over; but when the musician came on board the boat, it was a case of 添酒回燈 "Supplying more wine and *bringing back* the lamps."

6.—Mr. Waley's rendering of 轉軸撥絃三兩聲 by "she turned the 'pegs' (to tune the instrument) and struck the strings (with her plectrum) playing two or three notes" is no doubt more literal than mine; but if, as Mr. Waley tells us later on, p. 597, "the general reader will accept whatever makes good sense and good poetry," he will scarcely find both conditions fulfilled.

7.—I did not understand the technical meaning of 絃絃掩抑. Mr. Waley's "with every string muted" is accepted with thanks.

8.—Mr. Waley is right in saying that my "Now softly, now slowly, her plectrum sped to and fro" is not "an attempt to translate" 輕攏慢撚抹復挑. His own attempt, of the correctness of which he is "not confident" requires no fewer than twenty-eight words to make seven characters clear, and would have been quite out of place in a popular work. The Chinese terms employed are purely technical.

9.—曲終收撥當心畫四絃一聲如裂帛. Mr. Waley suggests as the sense of these lines, "When the tune was ended, she withdrew her plectrum, sweeping it (as a painter sweeps his brush) across her breast, and the four strings (played in *arpeggio*) sounded with a slash like the rent of silk." In the first place, my text has 抽 for 收, a much better reading, inasmuch as the latter must simply mean "she took away" or "she put up" the plectrum, whereas the former gives the arpeggio *pull* across the strings. As to "sweeping her plectrum across her breast," I can only say that 當心 undoubtedly refers to the face of the lute and not to the breast of the maiden. Mr. Waley has adopted my last eight words "with a slash like the rent of silk." [Students who are not far advanced may like to have it pointed out that "slash" comes out of 畫 in the first line, which stands for 劃, 然 being understood.] Further, as the previous sentence clearly showed that the song was ended, I did not unnecessarily insert "When the song was over." Mr. Waley's mistaken view of 曲 is dealt with under No. 14 below.

10.—"My childhood, etc." was, as Mr. Waley suggests, intentional. Names of places and of personages, unless particularly

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famous, have always to be kept in the background of "Chinese Gems" translated for general readers. Many of the most beautiful pieces are quite untranslatable because of the myriad allusions which strike chords in a Chinese heart, but leave the European reader cold. How could a Chinese translator from English literature hope to interest his countrymen by any rendering of "call up him who left half told The story of Cambuscan bold," or even of such phraseology as "the morning star of song," and the like ?

11.—阿姨 I also translated this term intentionally by "mother" instead of by "aunt," which stared me in the face in every dictionary ; but I will not give my reason, which now seems to me to be feeble. Of course "aunt" is correct, and it will be safer to drop "mother" in future. I need hardly add that Mr. Byng has "My mother died."

12.—住近盆江. For "I live by the marshy river-bank," Mr. Waley would have me say, "I live near P'ên River." See No. 10.

13.—春江花朝秋月夜.
往往取酒還獨傾.

Mr. Waley says that I omit these lines. I certainly did not translate them, for like the British fleet, they were not in sight—of the text at my disposal. Neither do I think now that Mr. Waley has correctly rendered the second line by "Many a time and again I brought wine and drank it alone." One important character is entirely ignored. My translation would be "Time and again I fetched wine and took it home to drink alone." The lines are given in the editions of 1606 and 1703, in both of which the number of words is said to be 612.

14.—更坐彈一曲 Mr. Waley complains of my "Sit down awhile and sing to us yet again." He says "the girl has been playing on the lute, not singing," and that the last three characters "can only mean play one tune." I think he will find upon closer examination that 曲 means technically a song with words, as when we 唱曲 sing songs. But, like ourselves, the Chinese have "songs without words" which they speak of in precisely similar terms 無字曲; *i.e.*, songs which are not sung, but which are produced from instrumental music alone by the skill of the composer or of the performer. Such, in fact, are the famous *Lieder ohne Worte* by Mendelssohn, and such too was the song of the Lute Girl. To speak of the latter as a "tune" would make Mr. Waley appear to have done what he thought I had done,—to

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have misunderstood the whole poem. Thus 曲調 means "song tunes," or as Hemelin puts it in his English-Chinese Dictionary, "the tune of a song." Finally, I did not use the word song inadvertently, without reference to the claims of the English language. He have in fact the same usage, one meaning of "song" being "a musical composition suggestive of a song," *q.d.* suggestive of words. A similar but more transcendental meaning is exhibited in Kingsley's lines—

Do noble deeds, not dream them, all day long;
And so make life, death, and that vast for-ever,
One grand, sweet song.

From which I venture to claim that if a song can be constructed from such elements the same licence may be conceded to an air, pregnant with picturesque imagery, drawn by a skilled performer from a lute. Addison too may be quoted. In his famous hymn he improved upon the "music of the spheres" by speaking of the stars—

For ever singing as they shine
The hand that made us is Divine.

The result for me is that I feel quite justified in having rendered the last three characters by "sing to us yet again" rather than by "pluck one tune," "pluck" and not "play" being technical meaning of 彈.

15.—Mr. Waley objects to "while I commit thy story to writing" for 爲君翻作琵琶行 and suggests "while I translate your tune into a lute-poem." I had before me as commentary 翻字卽翻譯之翻 and I was fairly well acquainted with the value of those words, having been myself for some years a humble 番翻譯官. I can only say that if "translate" is an improvement, "tune" is most emphatically a blemish.

16.—却坐促絃絃轉急.
凄凄不似向前聲.

My rendering was "sat down and quickly broke forth into another song, sad and soft, unlike the song of just now." In addition to italicizing my "song" as a mistake, Mr. Waley says "This is hardly translation" and proceeds to offer "sat down again, set the strings in motion, and the strings (under the plectrum) moved even more swiftly than before;" supplementing this with "for *song* of just now" substitute "for *tune* of just now." See No. 14. Here, if I have rudely ignored the Japanese *ututa*, as Mr. Waley alleges, he has entirely ignored the two characters

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慇懃 with their varied and elusive meanings. These characters and not the 急 of line 1, give the sense which distinguishes the second poem from the first.

In concluding this portion of my paper, I have only to thank Mr. Waley for stepping forward when so many other competent critics stand back. I am also glad to see that Mr. Arlington is continuing his notes in this Review, of which No. 1 of Vol. III has just come in; and I will take the opportunity of contesting a small point before I forget it. On page 498 of Volume II Mr. Arlington says that I have made a mistake in my *Biographical Dictionary*, No. 313, when I set down 阿衡 as the personal name of 伊尹, and that it was his official title. The 史記 however, backs me up; it is from the commentators that the other view has come (See *Mémoires Historiques*, I. p. 378). Which is right? His explanation of 衡 seems to me to carry conviction, and it is fortified by analysis of the component parts of the character.

I will now turn to Mr. Waley's defence of certain positions of his own which I had attacked in a previous issue (Vol. II, 319 *seqq.*), for which defence it is a pity that some more distinterested student has not taken up the cudgels on behalf of Mr. Waley; so true is it that even if we manage to resist the allurement of 人家的老婆 other people's wives, we are all of us fatally enslaved by the beauties of 自己的文章 our own compositions.

Mr. Waley's No. (1) is nothing more than a brief essay on translation and paraphrase. I will leave it to stand or fall by its own merits.

In No. (2) Mr. Waley says that our versions differ "chiefly because I have followed other commentators;" but that does not get us away from the question as to which version is the more accurate rendering of the Chinese text. He adds that "a Chinese poem cannot be turned into an English one merely by tagging rhymes on to the ends of the lines." I am not aware that I have ever supported a contrary thesis. I have published rhymed versions of Chinese poems, and hope to do so again; meanwhile, my own withers are unwrung; for Mr. Waley has been kind enough to say of my efforts that they "combine rhyme and literalness with wonderful dexterity." No one could ask for a more complimentary or more generous statement.

With regard to the first line of the poem under consideration 青春受謝 Mr. Waley thinks that its meaning is better brought

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out by his translation "Green spring receiveth the vacant earth" than by my "The green spring comes and goes." To begin with I have not yet met anyone who could understand Mr. Waley's line, which he now explains by "the metaphor is that of interchange, of one sentry relieving another,—or the like," though how that metaphor is conveyed by "Green spring receiveth the the vacant earth" is beyond my wit. I can now add something towards elucidation of these four words.

Shortly after dispatching my MS. to the editor, I was showing our splendid Chinese Library to the following gentlemen: 袁希濤 formerly Vice-Minister of Education, Republic of China; 王天柱 Chairman of Legislative Council of Kansu Educational Association; 水梓 Vice-President of Kansu Education Association; 任誠 Principal of No. 5 Normal School, Kiangsu; and 楊維興 Member of Board of Education, Peking. I seized the opportunity of submitting to them—a rare chance for me—the four characters in question; and these distinguished scholars rapidly and unanimously agreed that the meaning of 受謝 was simply 來往 "come go." That ended my disquiet in the matter.

(3) I am not at issue with Mr. Waley on the general principle of "equivalents" in translation, as Mr. Waley will see if he will refer to an article of mine in Vol. X of *The China Review*, p. 150. I have often used such terms as Bucephalus, Excalibur, and even Ulysses, to convey the purport of a Chinese allusion which, translated baldly, would have no meaning for foreign readers. Each case must be decided on its own merits.

(4) I pointed out that Mr. Waley had inadvertently omitted verse 17 of *The Great Summons*, there being 25 verses in all. His reply is "The verses which I omitted were cut out intentionally. I felt that in so long a poem they could easily be spared." This is indeed a singular plea. He would be a bold editor who should leave out one verse from *The Ancient Mariner*, which is about five times the length of *The Great Summons*, on the ground that it is so long. Mr. Waley finishes up with a *tu quoque* which would be smart and well-deserved if true, but which I have shown is not the case (see above, No. 13). On the other hand, Mr. Waley seems prone to omit, without, as it appears to me any sufficient reason. For instance among his "170 Chinese Poems" he has included, under the title of "Seventeen Old Poems," seventeen pieces taken from a collection known as 古詩十九首 "Nineteen Old Poems." In his note on the same, Mr. Waley says, "I have omitted two because of their marked inferiority." This inferiority is invisible to me. Anyhow, one of them belongs to

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the only nine poems which remain to us from the hand of Mei Sheng, and was translated by me, together with the other eight, for this Review (Vol. II, p. 33); and the other was pronounced by a distinguished scholar 劉勰思 Liu Hsieh, of the 6th century, to be 傳毅之詞 in the language of Fu I, 1st century, of whose work so little remains that we can hardly afford to sacrifice a line,

(5) I will pass no opinion on this paragraph except to repeat my view that all readers of translations are justified in demanding the real meaning of the text. Let us see how far Mr. Waley's dictum that "the general reader will accept whatever makes good sense and good poetry" is correct. In a poem published among "170 Chinese Poems," p. 41, line 1, Mr. Waley has a line which I analysed in *The Cambridge Review* of Nov. 22 1918, pointing out its absolute inaccuracy, as well as other blemishes in the 18 lines of the piece. Now Mr. Waley must have thought that his rendering was "good sense and good poetry," or why print it? The words are 冠帶自相索 and refer to the sights of the capital. As his rendering Mr. Waley gives, "The 'Caps and Belts' go seeking each other out," with a correct note that "Caps and Belts" means "high officers". Of course the word 索 has here its original meaning of "rope," which conveys to the reader the picture of "strings of high officials passing to and fro."

Mr. Waley winds up with a statement that his motive in penning the above notes was "to show that it is from a very glassy house" that I throw stones. I quite agree with him in this. All early work ought to be revised with the help of various solid books now available which did not then exist, as when I only had glass to build with in 1882, and earlier. I am sorry that Mr. Waley ends with what I am obliged to characterize as an unfair blow below the belt. He says, "If further proof [of my glassiness] be needed, I would ask the reader to compare with the original Professor Giles' translation (*Chinese Literature*, p. 179) of Ssŭ-k'ung T'u's (司空圖) *Shih P'in* (詩品)." This is not literary cricket. Mr. Waley is now bound in honour to publish what he holds to be the correct meaning of that abstruse poem, or at any rate to give a list of mistakes, to give me a chance either to accept or to traverse, as the case may be.

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THE HANGCHOW BORE

BY

G. T. MOULE

These notes* on the Bore are merely a compilation. As an excuse for venturing to offer what follows to this learned and religious Association it may be mentioned (1) that the writer has during the past 33 years seen the Bore 200 times and more ; always, alas ! with an ignorant and unscientific eye : (2) that he assisted Captain Moore when making the observations which resulted in the first report mentioned below ; and helped him in preparing a paper on the Bore which was read before the North-China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1888.

His love for what has been well called "one of the most striking of the world's unusual natural phenomena" has led him, he hopes, to use the most trustworthy descriptions of this second glory of Hangchow.

These are: (1) "Report on the Bore of the Tsien-tang Kiang, by Captain Moore, R.N., of H.M.S. *Rambler*, 1888" ; published by order of the British Admiralty. [Hereafter referred to as "Captain Moore's Report."]

(2) Captain Moore's "Further Report on the Bore, 1892."

(3) "Report on the Hydrology of the Hangchow Bay and the Chien Tang Estuary" ; published in 1921 by the Whangpoo Conservancy Board. [Hereafter referred to as the "Conservancy Report."]

(4) "The Tides" by Sir G. H. Darwin, third edition, 1911. This is a standard work, of which American, German, Italian and Hungarian editions have been published.

(5) "Notes on Hangchow" by G. E. Moule ; 2nd edition, 1907. Not published.

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* A paper read before the Hangchow Missionary Association, June, 1921.

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Bores—probably smaller ones—are to be seen on several other rivers ; *e.g.*, the Amazon, the Petitcodiac (Bay of Fundy) N., the Hugli, and the Brahmaputra.

II.—THE HANGCHOW BORE

In this case the 4 conditions mentioned above are all present.

(*a*) The tide-range (springs) at Rambler Island—about 30 miles east of Hai-ning—is given by Captain Moore as 25 to 34 feet, in 1888 : while the latest chart of the Bay (No. 20, published April, 1921, by the Chinese Customs) gives the range of springs as 22 to 26½ feet, at the same place.

(*b*) The Bay is 50 to 60 miles wide at its mouth, quickly narrows to about 10 miles, and at Hai-ning to about 5 miles.

(*c*) There is a vast area of sand flats in the Bay and Estuary ; (by the "*Estuary*" Captain Moore means the water immediately to the east of Hai-ning, which place he regards as the entrance to the *river* proper) ; and the depth of water in the eastern part of the Bay is much greater than it is in the western, narrow, part of the estuary.

(*d*) The Ch'ien-t'ang river has a considerable volume of water and a good current.

Captain Moore discovered that the Bore begins—*i.e.*, the tide-wave assumes the shape of a Bore—not as he had expected, at Hai-ning, but usually some miles to the east of Hai-ning near Chi-san (*i.e.*, Chien-shan 尖山) a conspicuous hill "12 miles E. by S. ½ S. from Hai-ning."

The Chinese knew this long ago : "at Chien-shan, on the north bank, the tide rises up with waves of silver and billows of snow" is an old saying.

The Conservancy Report confirms Captain Moore's statement : "the bore originates in the vicinity of Hsiao Chi Shan" (*i.e.*, Chien-shan).

But on rare occasions it may form much further away, off Chapu—about 36 miles from Hai-ning.

Captain Moore's general description of the Bore is as follows:

"At full and change of the moon the Bore of the Tsien-tang Kiang originates between 10 o'clock and 10.30 in the neighbourhood of Chi-san" (Chien-shan). "On a still night, it can be heard from Hai-ning within half-an-hour after it has formed.

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It is divided into two branches, one of which keeps along the shore, touching the sea-wall with its north extreme, and the sands with its south extreme ; this is the main Bore and the highest. The other appears in view at Hai-ning from a south easterly direction, touching sand on both sides. When 4 miles from Hai-ning, the branches join, the right extreme of the first with the left extreme of the second, making a continuous white line 2 miles in length" (rather "*breadth*"). "Shortly afterwards, the Bore commences to contract in width, increase in speed, and rise in height, conforming to the mouth of the river. When 2 miles from Hai-ning, the flood stream (probably that from the south-east which runs through the other) charges into the sea wall. There is no particular effect at the wall itself ; but a violent rebound, causing a tumultuous rising of the water in waves several hundred yards behind, but twice as high again as the front of the Bore. These waves are in existence for many minutes, travelling in a southerly or south-westerly direction ; and, after a time, subside on to the back of the Bore. Precisely as the moon crosses the meridian, the Bore passes Hai-ning" (the Conservancy Report states, however, that 'the wave passes *Chapu* practically simultaneously with the moon's transit'), "where it is nearly a straight line across the river, 9 cables wide, 8 to 11 feet high, and travelling between 12 and 13 knots an hour ; its front being a uniform sloping cascade of bubbling foam, falling forward and pounding on itself and on the river before it at an angle of between 40° and 70°. The highest and steepest part is over the deep channel of the river." * * * "The river fills up to the level of the Bore soon after it passes, but not evenly. The height, speed and regular appearance of the front are maintained for 15 miles above Hai-ning" ; [as to height, the writer's experience has been that the Bore diminishes gradually but definitely in height before it has gone ten miles west of Hai-ning], "After which the Bore decreases in height, and passes the city of Hangchow at 1.45, soon to break up and disappear. A quarter of an hour after the Bore has passed Hai-ning the water has risen to 13 feet, and at 2 o'clock to 18 feet. It is high water, 19 feet, at 3 o'clock, and the stream at once begins to run out swiftly." * * * "At 8 o'clock it is nearly low water. The outgoing stream, however, continues to run to the eastward with great velocity until the arrival of the next Bore." * * * "It is high water at Hangchow about the same time as at Hai-ning, but the rise and fall does not exceed 6 or 7 feet."

As to the height of the Bore Captain Moore says : "It is improbable that the height of the cascade ever exceeds 15 or 16

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feet." * * * "The effect of a rebound from the sea wall is to raise water from 5 to 15 feet above the Bore, making a total of 20 to 30 feet under very exceptional circumstances; but only for a few minutes."

Of the sound of the Bore he says: "The sound in the distance is peculiar, and not exactly like any other. It most nearly resembles the leaden noise of breakers on a distant coral reef, being a continuous muttering, broken only by an occasional dull thud, indicating some new addition to the flood, or some exceptionally heavy breaker. As it approaches, the sound increases very gradually until it passes with a roar, but little inferior to the rapids below Niagara."

In conclusion Captain Moore remarks: "The regularity of its appearance and shape, the distance at which it is heard at night and seen by day; its charge against the sea wall; its speed, height, gleaming front, and thundering roar as it tears past the observer, render it a most impressive phenomenon."

It is to be regretted that only one or two additional extracts from the Whangpoo Conservancy Board's Report on the Hydrology of the Hangchow Bay and Estuary can here be quoted. The portion of this Report referring to our subject extends to more than 40 pages, but some 30 of these are tables and "graphs" which do not lend themselves to quotation in a paper to be read aloud. Members of the Association who are interested in the Bore, are strongly advised to study the Report. It is a very important document; the result of surveys and investigations lasting from April, 1919, to January, 1921, carried out by highly trained observers under the direction of the Conservancy Board's distinguished Engineer-in-Chief, Mr. von Heidenstam.

Had the Conservancy Report shown Captain Moore's Report to be seriously inaccurate, it would, of course, have been necessary to make much fuller reference to the former; but this states that Captain Moore's observations "have been fully confirmed by the Board's investigations."

"The principal factors operating to produce the bore (probably one of the largest in the world) are the rise of the tide, the conformation of the coast, and the sand bars above Kanpu. * * * The bore of the Chien Tang Kiang is not a simple wave; there is no regular undulation of the water surface, but a definite motion of translation, particles of water are carried forward and particles of wood have been seen borne along on, or immediately back of. the crest of the bore, retaining their position relative to the crest for long distances." (Conservancy Report, pp. 39,40).

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Speed of the Bore.—"At Hai-ning the bore passes at springs at a maximum velocity of 15 knots—the current on the after-rush is from 6 to 10 knots; the duration of flood is about 3 hours. The ebbing currents reach 6 knots the second hour after high water, and the velocity falls away until just before the bore arrives, when the river seems to be sucked out into the bay. Above Hai-ning the flood currents gradually become less until at Zakao the bore passes at about 6 knots and practically the whole flood-tide." (Conservancy Report, page 28). The speed of the Bore of Dec. 10, 1919 (3 days after full moon), between Station No. 4 and Hai-ning, a distance of 10 sea miles, was found to be 18.7 knots per hour (*Ibid.* page 60).

Mr. von Heidenstam terms the Bore a "famous and impressive phenomenon": later he coins for it the happy epithet —"this hydrodynamic freak."

III.—LEGENDARY ACCOUNT

The Chinese legend of the origin of the Bore is given as follows in G. E. Moule's "Notes on Hangchow." "With regard to the tide of the Ch'ien-t'ang, there is an old legend that Wu Tzŭ-hsü 伍子胥 after frequent remonstrances with the Prince (Fu Ch'a of the feudal state of Wu 吳) without result, was condemned to death, but permitted to die by his own sword. When about to die, he charged his son in these words—'Pluck out my eyes at the south gate, that I may see the army of Yüeh' [on the right bank of the river] 'coming to ravage Wu,' [the state of Wu]. 'Take the skin of a *t'i* 鯷 fish, wrap in it my corpse, and fling me into the river. Then at dawn and dusk I shall come on the tide to gaze on the fall (or defeat) of Wu.' From that time the tide-head at Tide-gate Hill 潮門山 came hurtling up, several hundred feet high, over-leaping the sea-wall and passing Yü-p'u 魚浦, after which it gradually subsided. Whenever it came again at dawn and dusk, it had a wrathful sound, and the swift rush of thunder and lightning, and could be heard more than a hundred *li* off. Then might be seen, in the midst of the tide-head, Tzŭ-hsü sitting in a funeral car drawn by white horses. Whereupon they built a temple to appease him with sacrifice." (Hsi-hu Chih 西湖志 §45, fol. 2). The date of this legendary event is, according to Mayers (*Chinese Reader's Manual*), about B.C. 475. Another account gives B.C. 484 as the date of Wu Tzŭ-hsü's death.

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IV.—SEA-WALL: DYKES OR EMBANKMENTS

Between Hangchow and Hai-ning, on the left bank of the river, there are two main embankments.

The inner (presumably the older) is built of earth, and pierced with many weirs or sluices. How these were used is not clear; they are described as for storing water and lessening the impact of the Bore. This inner embankment, locally called the "Grass Dyke" 草塘, * is a most striking work: in some parts it is over 20 feet high, and often more than 15 feet wide at the top. The base, for many miles, is over 30 feet wide. The distance between this dyke and the Sea-wall varies; in places they are more than a mile apart.

The outer embankment (sea-wall) is known locally as the "sea-dyke": 海塘. This is of earth resting on piles, with a stone bunding; the massive stone slabs, as a rule, joined together by iron rivets.

As the "sea-wall," at least near Hangchow, is probably well known to most members of the Association, it does not seem necessary to describe it in detail. Particulars of its construction and extent will be found in Captain Moore's and the Conservancy's Reports. In the latter, on pages 3 and 4, there are some admirable diagrams showing cross-sections of the dykes at various points from Choling, near the mouth of the Bay, to Hai-ning.

Of the sea-wall at Hai-ning Captain Moore says: "the sea-wall abreast of the pagoda is 23½ feet high above low water ordinary spring tide, and 16 feet above the junk platform. The side is cut in steps (15) like those of a dock, but only 4 inches broad. * * * Its top is 3 to 4 feet above high water ordinary spring tide, and is faced with blocks of stone † 5 feet long, 16 inches broad, and 14 inches deep, laid end-ways out, and joined together by rivets of iron." He describes the Hai-ning junk shelter as "a platform of stones inclosed by piles alongside the sea wall. It is protected from the Bore by a massive buttress at the eastern end 253 feet long (*i.e.*, parallel to the sea wall) and 66 feet wide, which is semi-elliptical in shape; and deflects the flood stream. * * * This shelter, abreast the pagoda, is 1,100 yards (should be "*feet*") long, 20 feet wide, and 7 to 8 feet above low water ordinary spring tide. At the west end of it, there is another buttress protecting a shelter on a higher level."

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*In maps, the name of this Dyke is Li Kao T'ang (Inner High Dyke) or Lao T'u T'ang (Old Earth Dyke).

† Concrete blocks are now being used in place of stone.

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The Conservancy Report's account of this junk shelter—in 1920—is :—

"Junk shelters have been built along the wall. They are all of the same type, the one at Hai-ning being the longest and best protected. Massive elliptical buttresses of fascine work —250 feet long and 70 feet wide—have been built perpendicular to the sea-wall, one 800 feet below the pagoda, and one 300 feet above the pagoda—making the shelter practically 1,100 feet long. A platform is built against the foot of the sea-wall, and between the buttresses, about 20 feet wide and 7 to 8 feet above low water : piling is driven outside the platform. The wall itself is built in steps, each step set in about 4 inches. * * * The junk men on hearing the bore approach, remove their run-ways and make preparation to take the force of the wave, fending off with their bamboo poles, etc. . . There is always a great deal of commotion—some of the junks surge back and forth and strike against the seawall, but usually there is no damage."

The local pride in the sea-wall and embankments (as great and wonderful works) is justified by Dr. C. K. Edmunds (observer-in-charge of the Carnegie Institution's Magnetic Survey of China) who has ·id : "The Hangchow Bore Wall, built about A.D. 915 and still protecting millions from a twice-daily flood from the sea, has, though less known, impressed me as worthy of a greater share of fame than the Grand Canal or the Great Wall, because of the dynamic difficulties to be overcome in the construction of 180 miles of a wall which so effectively shuts out one of the most gigantic and powerful tidal bores of the world."

The following notes on the history of the embankments are from "Notes on Hangchow"; and from the Conservancy Report:—

"The notices of the building of the embankments are vague in many respects. The first is found in the Tu Shih T'ung-tien 杜氏通典, and refers evidently to the neighbourhood of Hang-chow—then probably on the bank of the southernmost mouth of the Yangtze. It relates that one Chün Kung-tsao 郡功曹, styled Hua-hsin 華信, in the Han dynasty, being anxious to build an embankment offered to pay a thousand cash for every load of earth and stones deposited on the river bank. The people gathered in crowds and waited on the bank with their loads, whereupon Hua-hsin said he was sorry that he did not want what they had brought, and the people flung down their loads and went away unpaid : the materials were used to build the dyke which was sarcastically called Ch'ien-t'ang (money dyke).

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Next we hear that the sea-wall in the district of Yen-Kuan 鹽官, 40 miles in length, was *rebuilt* early in the 8th century ; (*see* T'ang-ti-li chih 塘地理志)."

[Yen-Kuan was the old name of Hai-ning : this *rebuilding* is probably what is referred to in the Conservancy Report, page 77, where it is stated that "the official construction of the sea dykes along the northern shore of the Hangchow Bay and the western shore of the Yangtze Estuary was begun in 721. Prior to that no authentic records are available, but it is reported that short reaches of dyke were built by the local people."]

Time will not permit of an account of the dykes on the right, southern, bank of the river. But it may be mentioned that the Conservancy Report, p. 79, states that "the official construction of the sea dykes along the southern shore of the Hangchow Bay was begun in 722."

"In the autumn of 773 a great storm at sea caused the Bore to rise to a great height 'swallowing up 5,000 houses and 1,000 ships'. Fifty years later the dyke was again broken several times. At length, in A.D. 910, Ch'ien Wu-su built the embankment, the line (if not part of the actual structure) of which may still be traced outside the east wall of this city. His dyke extended to Hai-ning."

[Here may be interpolated the picturesque description of Prince Ch'ien's exploit given in the Topography of the Jên-ho Hsien, XII, 15 : "in the fourth year of K'ai P'ing (A.D. 910), Prince Ch'ien Wu-su at length commenced" — all previous efforts having failed — "to build a dyke outside the gates Hou-ch'ao and T'ung-chiang. But, encountering day and night the violent assaults of the tide, he could never succeed in connecting the two portions of the work. Then the Prince ordered several hundred arbalistiers to face the west" ["*west*" seems unlikely : in an almost identical account the words "face the west" are omitted]," and discharge their bolts, in order to slay the spirit of the tide. At the same time he caused prayers to be said on the hill Hsü." [Now called Wushan : the Drum-tower stands at the foot of this hill.] "Thereupon the tide retired abashed, when the Prince hastened to make creels of bamboo, which he filled with large stones, and to drive in huge piles. The dyke thus completed, he rested some time before proceeding to create the fortified city. What is now level *terra firma* was all anciently washed by the river." For a lively poetical version of Prince Ch'ien's triumph, by the Rev. T. Gaunt, see the *New China Review*, Dec. 1919.]

The Sea-wall which now exists, *i.e.* the *outer* of the 2 embankments mentioned above, "was begun apparently from the

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Chien-shan 尖山 end about 1730. The work was finished in 1743." [The Conservancy Report says of the Dykes in the Hai-ning section — *i.e.*, Hangchow to Chien-shan ; — "the first building of the stone dyke in this section was started in 1659. A stone dyke about 10 miles long from Hsiao Chi Shan" (Chien-shan) "westwards was found to have been completed in 1664. * * * The inner earth dyke was built in 1733. * * * The dykes in this section, Hangchow to Hsiao Chi Shan" (Chien-shan) "have been in the constant care of officers appointed specially for the purpose since 1659, except during a period of 12 years from 1853 —1864, owing to the disturbance, known to foreigners as the Taiping Rebellion".]

On the "Sea-wall" (outer embankment) there are watchmen's huts (stations 堡) placed less than a mile apart : the first of these is about a mile from the Ching-tai gate of Hangchow, at the head of what is known as the "Avenue", while the 33rd is outside the south gate of Hai-ning : from this point the numbering of a new series of huts (stations) begins again eastwards.

The Avenue—most charming of walks—, and the rest of the road along the top of the Dyke to Hai-ning was until a few years ago an ideal "track." During the past five or six years it has greatly deteriorated. Between the 10th and 13th stations it was, last year, in very bad condition. As a proof of the good state of the road formerly it may be mentioned that in 1896 H. W. Moule and the writer walked from the south gate of Hai-ning to the T'ai-p'ing gate of Hangchow — about 25 miles — in 7 hours 9 minutes.

A few years ago there were four iron oxen, mounted on the Sea-wall between Hangchow and Hai-ning, for the protection of the Dyke from the assaults of the Bore. [See *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*, by Père Doré, Vol. V., p. 663.] It is to be hoped that they are still there ; but the ox at Hai-ning was mutilated some years ago. It was reported at the time that the outrage was committed by a representative of western civilization.

V.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

1. HIGHEST BORES. These occur usually in the late autumn and winter months. The Chinese at Hai-ning say that Bores in the winter months are almost always higher than those at other seasons.

On page 26 of Captain Moore's Report it is stated that the Chinese "expect highest tides and highest Bores in the winter. This is at Hai-ning where a high or low Bore has a practical bearing upon their daily life. At Hangchow there is a story that

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the highest Bore is always on the 18th day of the 8th moon, *i.e.*, 3 days after the full moon of September; but it certainly was not so this year (1888), and I cannot see why it should be any year except when full moon happens to correspond with Perigee."

N.B.—The 18th day of the 8th moon is not always 3 days after full moon of September; *e.g.*, in the 5 years 1917 to 1921 it occurs as follows:

1917	on October	3	*i.e.*, 2	days after Full moon
1918	on September	22	*i.e.*, 2	days after Full moon
1919	on October	11	*i.e.*, 2	days after Full moon
1920	on September	29	*i.e.*, 1	days after Full moon
1921	on September	19	*i.e.*, 2	days after Full moon

Captain Moore made the common mistake of assuming that the 15th day of the Chinese moon is always full moon. But this is not so; for instance, during 1921 full moon occurs six times on the 15th, four times on the 16th, and twice on the 17th day of the Chinese moon. Captain Moore is however quite correct in saying that there is no reason why the Bore of the 18th of the 8th moon should be the highest of the year. It certainly is not the highest, *as a rule*; and the Chinese, when asked, have never told the writer that it was. But they have all said that day was the day on which to propitiate the Tide "Dragon" with offerings.* Formerly all went on that day to the San-lang temple 三郎廟 just outside the city. Later, when the great change in the left bank of the river prevented the Bore from being seen there, the 7th "station" (Pao), on the sea-wall was the proper place to go to. Later still, as the extraordinary silting up of the north bank has made the 7th "station" a bad point of view, and the railway, provides cheap excursions, those who can spare the time now go to Hai-ning for the festival. Even now great numbers go to the 7th "station," and enjoy the "fun of the fair"; though they see little, if anything, of the Bore.

The Conservancy Report, page 39, says that "the statement often made that the bore only occurs at the equinoxes is erroneous; while the position of the sun and moon relative to the earth is frequently more favourable to a high tide at the equinoxes, a violent rush of water takes place on *every* tide, spring or neap." * * * "Chinese lore favours the syzygies following the autumnal equinox, but the bore is not always greatest then."

* The 18th is a Festival of several Immortals celebrated for their love of Wine. Two of them are the Poets Li Po ("the most famous name in Chinese Literature") and Liu Ling; both *drowned*. ("Researches into Chinese Superstitions" by Doré, Vol. V., p. 599).

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2. WINDS IN THE BAY. The Conservancy Report, p. 72, states that "the prevailing winds are from the North veering from N.E. to N.W. (December) and back to N.E. From April to August the winds are S.E." Another authority gives the following note of the prevailing winds :—

January to March	NNW. to NE.
April	E. to ESE.
May to August	SE.
September to November	E. to NE.
December	NNW.

3. OCCASIONAL CESSATIONS OF THE BORE. The tide has probably for centuries entered the river at Hai-ning in *Bore*-form twice a day with but few exceptions. One of these failures to function is recorded in the Conservancy Report, page 75, which states that "from 1841 to 1845, there was no bore in the bay or river ; the water simply rose and fell with the tide. In the autumn of 1846, the bore started to occur again, at first a mere rush of water on the flood which gradually grew until a bore occurred at all seasons and tides."

Another of these occasional cessations is perhaps the explanation of the fact that Marco Polo makes no mention of the Bore in his very detailed description of Hangchow. This seems more probable than the suggestion made by Mr. P. von Tanner who wrote in 1901 that "the fact that Marco Polo does not mention it (the Bore) shows almost conclusively that he never visited Hangchow, but got his account from a native poet." To the writer it seems that (even if Marco never came here) the Bore is just the sort of thing that the "native poet" would dwell on.* It is to be regretted that in Professor Cordier's new volume (1920) of notes, etc., to "Ser Marco Polo" this theory is again quoted. It may be mentioned that in 1864, when Bishop G. E. Moule came here, there was a vast sand-bank in the middle of the river, just below the city, which prevented the Bore from functioning properly if at all.

4. DAYS ON WHICH TO VISIT HAI-NING. Those wishing to see the Bore well should visit it at — or near — Hai-ning in the late autumn or winter months. There is at present no place near Hangchow within *easy* reach of the city, where the Bore can be properly seen. The 2nd and 3rd days after new and full moon are as a rule, the best days. During the last 3 months of 1921 good Bores may be expected on the following days:

* Twelve hundred years ago the great Poet Sung Chih-wên, looking from the terrace of the T'ao-Kuang temple at the wonderful view of lake, city and river combined, singled out the *Bore* for mention in his immortal couplet

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October 2, 3 ; 18, 19: November 1, 2 ; 16, 17; 30 : December 1 ; 16, 17 ; 30, 31 (December 17 corresponds with perigee).

Two days should, if possible, be given to the expedition. If the full moon Bores of December 16 were chosen the following time table is suggested:—

December 15. Leave Hangchow city in a native boat (Wu-hsi K'uai), about 4 p.m.

December 16. Arrive at Hai-ning about 8 a.m. See Bore from near pagoda about noon ; or (rather earlier) from a place on the sea-wall about 4 miles east of the pagoda, where the 2 branches of the Bore meet. (Plate No. 42 in Conservancy Report.) In the afternoon visit the "Tide Temple in Hai-ning. About midnight see night Bore from pagoda.

December 17. During the forenoon arrange with master of a junk (on junk shelter at pagoda) for a passage to Hangchow. About noon go on board junk : see Bore arrive, and return to Hangchow "on" the Bore.

The Junk voyage should not be omitted. Those who have not seen the raging of the tide from the deck of a junk swept along behind the "Iron Horse" (a Chinese term for the Bore), have no idea of its grandeur.

Those who can give one day only to the visit should go by the early morning train to Chang-an, and take a boat from there to Hai-ning. After seeing the Bore, Tide temple, etc., return by boat to Chang-an, and thence by train to Hangchow.

CONCLUSION.

The writer has introduced the Bore to many friends. Some of them took no interest in the sight. Many found it much less attractive than a Chinese crowd. Such complete altruists should certainly choose the 18th day of the 8th moon for their visit! But others found it both beautiful and impressive.

Four years ago he had the pleasure of showing it to one of those "blessed saints and humble hearts" whose "conversation" is manifestly in Heaven. When the Bore had passed, his friend was asked what he thought of the sight. He was so overcome with emotion that for some moments he could not reply ; then he said "My first sight of Heaven will astonish and delight me as this has done." Four months later he knew if he was right or not.

Some there are who after seeing this "hydrodynamic freak" can only say — in Shakespeare's words — "Kneel down, kneel down, and wonder."

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ORNAMENTAL CARVING EXTRAORDINARY

BY

L. C. ARLINGTON

While I was stationed at Tientsin in the early eighties one of Li Hung-chang's soldiers brought me a highly polished carved peach-stone which he offered to sell for one thousand taels, saying that it was so old and rare that if I looked all over the world I should never be able to find another one like it. He pointed out what appeared to me to be some sort of tracery, saying that they were dragons, etc. Becoming interested, I examined the stone under a magnifying glass and was astonished to find that it had carved on it a pair of archaic dragons guarding the sacred fungus ; while the border represented the Buddhist group of Lohans or Arhats. That a stone no larger than the first phalange of my thumb could possibly contain so many ornamental figures so distinctly visible and beautifully carved, I could never have believed except on the evidence of my own eyes ! Though I had no idea of the value of such things, the sum demanded appeared excessive, and I refused to buy the thing, thinking that I could come across another one at some future date. Alas for my simplicity ! I have never seen another one like it. My experience was similar to that of the Prince of Chou as related by Dr. Giles of the "retainer who spent three years in painting a bean for his Prince ; but when the latter saw nothing more than the picture of an ordinary red bean, he was very angry. 'Build a ten-foot wall' said the painter, 'cut in it an eight-foot window and then examine it there, in the rays of the rising sun.' The Prince did so, and was astounded to find it covered with dragons, snakes, birds, houses, chariots, etc."*

* *History of Chinese Pictorial Art.* p.2.

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Carving in wood is said to be very ancient in China. One of the earliest allusions to carving,-as far as I am aware, is in the Analects, where it is stated that Tsang Wên-chung of the Lu State, kept a large tortoise in a special house for divining purposes, on the capitals of which he had *hills made*, with representations of duckweed on the small pillars above the beams supporting the rafters. *

In the 國語 it is recorded that Prince Hui of the feudal kingdom of Chin (of the Chou Dynasty) commanded General Han Chien to challenge to combat Prince Mu of the Ch'in kingdom, and that the latter was armed with a lance, the handle of which was beautifully carved with various emblems.

The above refers to ornamental carving of a large design, and not to what may be called "microscopic" carving as in the case of the peach-stone.

The following remarkable feats of "microscopic" carving have been selected from the following books:—**農田餘話**; **稗史類編**; **王氏筆管記**; and **輟耕錄**:

A retainer in the Palace of the Sung Emperor T'ai Tsu (A.D. 960-976), carved on a small ivory spoon about the size of a little finger, twenty pieces of household articles; each about the size of a sesamum seed. Each piece could be removed and replaced, but only when referring to the diagram which he made showing the position of each piece.

* * *

A lady friend of mine had a finger ring set with a carnelian about the size of a small bean, on the face of which were inscribed the twelve Branches or Horary characters.

Each character was as fine as the finest silk. As it did not appear to have been done by any human agency, it was called the Devil's-work gem—*i.e.*, of supernatural origin.

* * *

In the first year of the Emperor Shun Chih (A.D. 1644), a native of Kiangsu carved on a peach-stone an amphitheatre of hills in which was nestled a cluster of houses and towers—a miniature hamlet in fact. A city wall and moat surrounded the whole. The occupants of the houses could actually be seen looking out of the windows. Under the shelter of a low mountain peak was a temple, in front of which stood three trees, through the branches of which a monk was seen standing in the doorway and pointing at some birds just alighting on the trees. On the path-

* *Analects*, chap. 公冶長.

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way leading to the temple a monk was going along with a bundle slung over his shoulder ; he appeared bent with age and looked as if he were returning from a pilgrimage.

Across the open space from the temple there was a bamboo grove, out of which appeared an acolyte going towards a seven-storied pagoda. On the shady side of the grove was a river showing the ripples on the water as they were fanned by the breeze. Tied to the bank was a boat, and through the window of the cabin an old man was seen reclining on a table ; while at the bow of the boat a boy with his hair done up in two tufts and wearing a short coat was fanning up a fire as if preparing the evening meal, the smoke of the fire and the steam of the kettle rising in the air. On one of the hill peaks was a bell-tower, and an old man peering out of a loop-hole ; while just over the brow of the hills the light of the moon was seen breaking through the clouds. Finally, there was a couplet of fourteen characters, the purport of which was as follows :

The lonely traveller asleep on his boat outside the gate of Kusu, is aroused by the toll of the bell in Cold Hill temple as it rings out the midnight hour.

* * *

A celebrated carver in wood who lived during the early years of the Manchu dynasty carved out of 108 cherry-stones no less than 500 Lohan. Each cherry-stone had from three to six Lohan, to which were added sacred scenes and figures, intermingled with conventional emblems of the Buddhist and Taoist religions. The Arhats were seen in various attitudes, such as standing, walking, sitting, praying, bowing or sitting in alcoves in meditation. Some wore caps of bamboo leaves, the peaks projecting over their foreheads. There were also many animals, wild and tame, moving about under the trees, each being clearly distinguishable. What was wonderful was that the features of the monks, such as the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, eyebrows, wrinkles in the faces and folds in the robes were all clearly visible. One party of monks was sitting beneath the shady trees pouring out and sipping tea, at the same time apparently listening to the abbot reciting from the *sutra*. In addition to the 500 Lohan there were 500 emblems of various descriptions, including the animals.

* * *

The Prefect of Têchow in Shantung, Wang I, who lived during the reign of the Sung Emperor Chên Tsung (A.D. 998-1007) came into possession of an ordinary Chinese pen-holder on which was carved an army in full marching order, the officers and men

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being easily distinguishable. The army was represented as marching across a wild-looking country returning from the frontier. The horses and their riders, the flag bearers and the trumpeters all looked as natural as life. Even the manes of the horses could be seen fluttering in the breeze. There was a rest-house around which stood some old looking gnarled trees, and a tablet recording in fourteen characters the departure, exploits and return of the army from the frontier.

What with the hill and mountain peaks, lonely desert tracts, and trees and mountain streams combined with an army in full marching order, it was truly a remarkable picture, and all this on an ordinary pen-holder !

* * *

An expert carver named Chin Lao a native of Kiangsu who was a stupid and ugly looking fellow, could produce some remarkable carving of the very finest description. He carved for example, an old-fashioned pleasure boat of the type so much beloved by the great poet Su Tung-po during his pleasure trips on the West Lake. This he did on a flat peach-stone. The scene represented life on the West Lake at Hangchow.

The boat was fully equipped with a mast, sail, ropes, even showing a tiny railing running along the deck on both sides. At the stern of the boat was an old man dressed in the garb of a sailor ; with one hand he held an oar, while with the other he held a pipe from which the smoke could be seen curling in the air. At the bow of the boat stood a boy fanning a fire on which was a kettle with the steam rising from it.

Over the door of the cabin a screen was hanging, and on both sides were windows which could be opened and closed at will. On opening the window the figure of Su Tung-po was exposed to view ; in one hand he held a book, and with the other was pointing at something on the lake. In the centre of the cabin stood a table on which were displayed 32 dominoes, the spots on each being clearly visible. Sitting sideways with his legs crossed, was Fo Yin, the bosom friend of Su, playing on a flute. *

The lake scene itself was perfect : the temples and trees fringing the lake ; the shadows of the willows reflecting in the water, and the arched bridges all harmonized and blended into

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*The name and surname of Fo Yin 佛印 (which was his "hao" or fancy name) are not known. His name in religion was Liao Yüan (了元). He is said to have retired from official life to the Chin Shan monastery at Chinkiang. He was an excellent critic, especially of poetry. hence Su Tung-po selected him as a bosom companion.

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one. A solitary boat was seen coming out of the shadows along the shore, and appeared as if gliding away to become part of the scene that appeared so lovely and restful on the waters of the lake. In 37th year of Kanghsi (A.D. 1699), the governor of Kiangnan, H.E. Sung, came into possession of this wonderful carving, and as one of the edges of a window was broken, he looked all over the country for some one to repair it. After many months he finally discovered Chin Lao the original carver of the stone, who repaired it so neatly that the governor was astonished, and asked him how he, an old man, with failing eye-sight, could possibly repair such a delicate carving. "Oh," said Chin Lao, "all that is required is good eye-sight, a steady hand and a calm conscience, that is all."

* * *

Another famous carver was Tu Shih Yüan (杜士元), a native of Kiangsu. Owing to his superb masterpieces, he was given the nickname of "The Demon Worker." One of his best microscopic masterpieces was on a dried olive. This was a representation of Su Tung-po's excursion to Ch'ih Pi in Hupeh where the troops under Chou Yü defeated the great Ts'ao Ts'ao. The famous "Red Wall" sets off the scene to perfection. In addition to the landscape, the extraordinary minuteness of the smallest detail connected with the boat passes comprehension. Everything was in exact proportion. The boat was equipped with a mast, sail, ropes, rudder and two oars, which latter were moveable. The cabin had windows on each side, through which could be seen the figures of three men. One was Su Tung-po dressed in a gown and cap; one was the famous Fo Yin garbed in a monk's robe and hood. He was depicted as pointing to something on the landscape. The other was Ch'in Kuan, the husband of Su's youngest sister (See *Biog. Dict.* No. 391). He was leaning out of a window playing a flute. In the bow of the boat stood a boy fanning a fire on which a kettle was steaming. Beside it was a tray with three tea-cups. On the deck were three sailors, two standing and one lying down. Although the heads of the men were no larger than a sesamum seed, the eyes, ears, nose and even the eyebrows were distinctly visible.

Tu Shih Yüan used to receive as much as fifty taels for a masterpiece, and could have made a small fortune, only that he was extremely fond of the wine cup and would do nothing so long as he had a cash left. The Emperor Ch'ien Lung on hearing of this wonderful man, ordered him to proceed to Peking without delay; but it was not until the third summons that he consented

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to go. On his arrival at the palace the Emperor treated him with exceptional kindness; gave him many valuable presents, and a large sum of money; provided him with good quarters and a special workshop. But poor Tu not being used to "Life at Court" became daily more and more depressed, and would not be consoled unless he was promised his freedom.

This not being obtainable, he made several futile attempts at escape. One day, however, he managed to escape to a remote section of the palace grounds, looking for a means of exit, but being detected by a sentry he pretended to be simply strolling about, and cutting off a bamboo he made a flute, and, climbing a large pine tree, began to play a mournful air, which so astonished the sentry that he at once reported Tu's eccentric behaviour to the Emperor, who, thinking that Tu had gone mad, at once ordered his expulsion from the palace. Tu, therefore, returned to his home in the South in great glee at having escaped from his uncongenial and enforced confinement.

* * *

One of the most famous of microscopic carvers was Tsan Ch'êng (詹成), who lived during the reign of the Sung Emperor Kao Tsung (A.D. 1127-1162). It is recorded that he was able to carve *movable* figures of birds, animals, etc., between the two sides of a thin bamboo frame, but which could not be taken out from their setting.

It is recorded by one Chou Ju-hu (周汝瑚) a native of Ch'angchow in Kiangsu that it took an expert carver eight or nine years to produce a masterpiece for which he only received a sum sufficient to provide a family of eight for six months; hence, the craft fell into disuse. He also states that the most expert carvers were all natives of Kiangsu.

It would be interesting to know if the Chinese in ancient times, or even during the early days of the Ch'ings, made use of the lens for magnifying purposes. If we are to believe the *Tz'ŭ Yüan* (辭源) spectacles were first introduced into China under the Mings.

The 援鶉堂筆記 quoting from the 淮南子泰族篇 has the following obscure passage: 欲知遠近而不能數以金目. Chin mu 金目 would appear to refer to some sort of lens or spectacles. Kanghsi quoting the 洞天清錄 states that spectacles called *Ai tai* (靉靆) were brought into China from 西域; probably Malacca or Arabia, during the Yüan dynasty.

If our "microscopic" artists did not make use of the lens, and allowing for a certain amount of exaggeration, it is not easy

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to understand how they succeeded in obtaining such astonishing results. Taking the bald statements of the chroniclers, however, it would appear that our glyptic artists had no assistance but their own unaided vision, which must have been remarkable in the extreme ! They probably first etched the outlines with a needle and then filled in with colour thus enabling them to carve with some sharp-pointed instrument. We already know that the craftsmen in carved lacquer during the Sung and Ming not only excelled in the colouring and the finished technique of the body, but also in the literary style of the inscriptions which were etched underneath the pieces. From this step, it requires no great stretch of the imagination to see that the microscopic carvings referred to above, are not exactly figments of the imagination ; more especially, if, as recorded by Chou Ju-hu, that it took them eight or nine years to carve a single masterpiece.

There is at the present moment living at Peking a man named Yü · Hsiao-hsüan (于 曉 軒), an ex-magistrate, a native of Yangchow, who produces some wonderful carving in ivory. I have seen specimens of his work. He is able to inscribe as many as ten thousand characters on a piece of ivory one inch square, leaving a margin of about three-tenths around the rim.

But he uses a magnifying glass and turns out a difficult piece of work in a few days. A vast difference between unaided vision and nine years of patient toil !

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NOTES AND QUERIES

Those readers who were interested in the article on the Chinese Abacus (p. 123) will be pleased to add to it the following note kindly sent us by Mr. F. H. Williams :—

Under the heading "Operations—multiplication" (p. 129) it is stated "The result will show . . . but not the position of the decimal point, which is generally to be determined mentally."

While in no sense a discovery, and while being of perhaps only academic interest, may I describe the manner in which I made the placing of the decimal point in both multiplication and division as mechanical as possible ?

I have a little clip which clips on to the top of the framework, and, representing the decimal point, naturally sits between any two bars.

When multiplying, the multiplicand is set up, and should the sum involve decimals, the clip is set in the place required by the multiplicand (*i.e.*, 123.48 is set up 123 clip) 48. *Before* carrying out the operations of multiplying, the clip is now moved as follows :

Move the clip as many spaces to the right as there are 'whole' digits in the multiplier or, move the clip as many spaces to the left as, failing 'whole' digits, there are noughts following the decimal point in the multiplier.

E.g. The multiplier being 6.78, the clip would go one space to the right: the multiplier being .0678 the clip would go one space to the left. The multiplier being .678, the clip would remain where it is.

The operations of multiplying may now be carried out, the clip will be found correctly to represent the decimal point in the answer.

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The difficulty of working with such a multiplicand as .0000-12345 is overcome by making cuts at intervals of about ⅛-inch round both sides of the board : these cuts represent bars, and the clip can be placed between the cuts, and the cuts represent noughts should the clip still be left at the side of the board after the preliminary operation of "fixing the decimal point" is completed.

Division is done on the same system, but of course reversed : *i.e.*, set up the dividend : place the clip where the dividend requires it, and *before* working the sum,—

Move the clip as many places to the left as the divisor has 'whole' numbers, or

If the divisor has no 'whole' numbers, move the clip as many places to the right as there are noughts after the decimal point in the divisor.

* * *

The article by Mr. H. P. Wilkinson in our last number (p.159) is sadly disfigured by the absence of a good many diacritic marks in romanized Chinese words ; and it seems only fair to explain that the fault is not with the author, who wrote all such words according to the Wade system ; nor with the editor who carefully marked each necessary correction in the first proof. But the fact is the printing office lacks the type.

* * *

We have photographs of rubbings of the cross in the Temple of the Cross already referred to several times in this *Review*, and a translation of the *Syriac* inscription. Unhappily they are not easy to reproduce satisfactorily and we must defer their appearance till our next number.

Notes by A. C. Moule.

Relying on an untrustworthy memory, I do not think that any of the exponents of the Christian Monument at Hsi-an fu (景教碑) seem to have used the text, printed in the 全唐文 *Ch'üan T'ang wên*, c. 916. In a hurried perusal of the text I noted four readings which are worthy of record. On fol. 23v° : 印持 (闕 — 字)字. The character 十 *shih* has, in fact, been defaced, though it is not "missing" on a good rubbing. The *Ch'üan T'ang wên* is dated 1818, and so the defacement must have been done before that date. On fol. 24v° : 俗 無 寇 盜. Legge (*The Nestorian Monument*, 1888, p.15) claims to be the first to have discovered that the third word was 寇, and though it is hard to believe that a native scholar would be deceived by the manuscript

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form used on the monument, yet Diaz, who must have had Li Wo-ts'un's text before him, prints 稷 and Wylie, who had studied several purely native text, prints 侵. Here at any rate is 寇 in 1818. On fol. 25v° : 情發目誠, Diaz, Wylie, Havret, Moule and Saeki changed 目 to 自 ; Legge printed 目 but did not translate it ; Pauthier printed 目 and translated it, getting no thanks therefor from Dr. Lionel Giles who insists in his recent notes (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 1920, pp. 19, 20) that the original 目 needs no mending. Dr. Giles, by the way, seems to have transposed Wylie and Legge. On fol. 26r° : 乃策各於玉幀. Dr. Giles (ibid. p. 21) had very acutely perceived that 王 of the original (and of all the printed texts known to him) represented 玉 and he will be interested in this confirmation of his views.

A further examination shows the text of the *Chüan T'ang Wên* to be extremely inaccurate. There are at least fourteen mistakes of the magnitude of 元 for 无, 亦 for 示, 戴 for 戴, 順 for 時, 列 for 刻, 王 for 皇, 皇 for 萬, etc. This inaccuracy does not necessarily vitiate the readings 玉 and 目 to which special attention is called.

The *Ch'üan T'ang Wên*, in the manner characteristic of such works, does not say what or where the inscription is, nor does it give the exact date or the name of the writer.

* * *

A curious example of quotation by Chinese authors is provided by Mr. Arlington's note on the reading 斁 in the *Shu Ching* (supra, p. 70). The 焦氏筆乘 *Chiao shih pi ch'êng* (A) quotes the *Han Shu* (B); the *Han Shu*, c 86, fol. 4v°, quotes the *Shu Ching* (C), 2, fol. 9v°. The readings of these three are :—

斁 A. 臣聞皐陶戒帝舜曰無斁佚欲
敖 B. 臣聞咎繇戒帝舜曰亡敖佚欲
斁 C. 無斁逸欲

The Commentary on the *Shu Ching* that goes under the name of *K'ung An-kuo* knows no reading but 斁 : Yen Shih-ku in his notes on the *Han Shu* knows only 敖, remarking that it stands for 傲.

* * *

With regard to Mr. Arlington's notes on the tomb of Yü, and the way of writing Yü-hang, the date of the story which would write the Yü 禹 is of importance. The *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi* (c. A. D. 980) says "When 禹 Yü of the Hsia was going east he left his boats and went ashore here ; hence the name 餘杭 Yü-hang." (*Ch'ien-tao Lin-an chih* c. 1. fol. 1). The *Shih Chi*, B.C. 90, c. 6, fol. 11v° has this passage :

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三十七年十月癸丑始皇出游左．．．過丹陽至錢唐臨浙江水波惡乃西百二十里從狹中渡上會稽祭大禹 "On 28th October B.C. 211 Shih Huang set out and travelled to the east. Passing Tan-yang he came to Ch'ien-ta'ng and went down to the shore of the river Chê. The waves of the river were dangerous, so he went 120 *li* to the west and crossed at a narrow place. He went up Kuei-chi and sacrificed to Yü the Great." From the notes we find that 晉灼 Chin Cho (c. 4th century) considered the river Chê as the southernmost of the three mouths of the Chiang, a theory carefully explained and supported by Yüan Yüan in the 19th century; and that 徐廣 Hsü Kuang (c. A.D. 400) says of the 'narrow place,' "namely at 餘杭 Yü-hang. 顧夷 Ku I says: As to Yü-hang, Shih-huang of Ch'in passed through it to Kuei-chi and made it a *hsien*." The possible reference to the Bore in the words 水波惡, "the waves of the river were violent," should be noticed. In his notes to the *Shih Chi*, Vol. I, p. 162; Vol. II, p. 186, Chavannes does not discuss the reality of the tomb of Yü, but in the *T'oung-pao*, 1913, p. 794, he laughs at the idea that Shun or Yü ever penetrated so far south. The 廣輿形勝 Kuang Yü hsing shêng, a modern book, says 餘杭一名禹杭. Of the authorities at hand none mentions the Great Yü in connexion with the name Yü-hang before the *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi*, and that carefully writes 餘杭 Yü-hang in the usual way. And what indeed would 禹杭 Yü-hang mean? It will be seen that Mr. Ailington's book says Yü left his carriage for a boat. As his next move was to climb a hill, "left his boats and went ashore" seems the more probable version of the story.

* * *

"Introduced" does not seems to be the right word to use in connexion with 放生 *fang shêng* in the West lake at the end of the 16th century. (*Supra*, p. 72). The Lin-an Chih c. 32, fol. 1v°, 2v°, definitely ascribes the origin of the festival on the 8th day of the 4th month to Wang Ch'in-jo, and gives the date A.D. 1020: 天禧中故相王欽若始奏以西湖爲放生池禁捕魚鳥爲人主祈福自是以來每歲四月八日郡人數萬會於湖上, and above: 天禧四年郡守王欽若奏以爲祝聖放生池.

* * *

"*A few Chinese Puzzles*" (See p. 144)

(1) In the ordinary edition of the *Chin shu* c. 56, the gentleman's name is 江彪 Chiang Pien (or Pin); nor is it surely necessary for 鴻祀 (not 紀) Hung ssŭ to mean a "sacrifice to a goose,"

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though it might have been, in Chiang's opinion a sacrifice by a goose.

(2) The context (in *T'ang shu* c. 5, 開元, not 原, K'ai-yüan 2nd year ; cf. 23 year) shows that 侍老 Shih lao is plural ; and we need not worry about their names. The phrase is not in Couvreur, Giles, or the *Tz'ŭ yüan*.

* * *

The last paragraph of Mr. Morley's article on the *Shu Ching* (p. 31 of this year's *Review*) is to a large extent answered by Pelliot's interesting and most learned article *Le Chou King et le Chang Chou che wen* in Mémoires Concernant l'Asie Orientale, II. 1916, pp. 123-177. On p.127 M. Pelliot writes, "Aujourd'hui, les meilleurs érudits chinois sont arrivés à cette conclusion unanime : le prétendu *Chou King* de K'ong Ngan-kouo est un faux ; . . . le faussaire a attribué à la recension de K'ong Ngan-kouo . . . la recension authentique de Fou Cheng."

NOTES BY L. C. ARLINGTON.

In the Preface to his Chinese-English Dictionary, Dr. Giles tells us that "No one writes 學 nowadays ; but on the other hand, every one writes 教 and 殺 and 舌. Yet the first character is right according to K'ang-hsi, and the second, and third and fourth are wrong." But he does not tell us that the Emperor Hsien-fêng altered 壽 to 寿, because it was considered unlucky to have the character for 'longevity' "broken off in the middle." Therefore, nearly every one writes 寿 nowadays instead of 壽. The character for year, too, was altered by K'ang-hsi from 歲 to 嵗 because the 止 "stopped the years" (of one's life) ; whereas, 山 being a symbol for 'longevity', increased it. *V.* 字學舉隅.

* * * *

Li Shih-min (李世民) the T'ang Emperor (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1196) on account of the character 民 in his name, altered the character *hun* 昏 'stupid' to 昏. Dr. Giles says nothing about this under No. 5222, the original form of which was 昏, or under No. 7922 溷 'foul,' etc. (altered to 溷). The general rule was to extend the *taboo* only to characters of inauspicious meanings. Therefore, 珉 No. 7913, would not be *taboo*, but 湣 was. And so with the whole series of the *hun* and *min* characters, that have the 民 in them. *Ibid.*

* * *

The famous Empress Wu Hou (*Biog. Dict.* No. 2331) was not satisfied with the character Chao 曌 in her name, so she specially

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invented another character with the same sound but a far different meaning, viz., Chao 嘲 implying thereby that she "had nothing in her eyes" (i.e., nothing in common with any one), everybody and everything being beneath contempt. That she was in fact a 'superwoman.' She is said to have invented altogether nineteen characters. *Ibid.*

* * *

The Empress Lü Hou (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1442) whose name was *Chih* 雉 the Argus pheasant, was also a *taboo* character, being altered to *yeh chi* 野雞, said to be euphemistic for 雉. It is to be noted that the term 'yeh chi' is of modern origin in the sense of 'courtesan' etc. *V.* 洪武正韻.

* * *

The famous Empress-Dowager Tz'ŭ Hsi* of the Manchu dynasty also indulged in a little *taboo* on her own account. Her name was *Lan* 蘭 and her 字 or style *Chih T'ien* 芝田. The character 蘭 was therefore *taboo* within the palace precincts; although there was no decree issued forbidding its use. No inscriptions, scrolls, embroidery, hair ornaments, shoes or clothing were allowed to have representations or figures of the *lân* on them.

The 蘭 (*Cymbidium ensifolium*,) could only be referred to as the *Hui* 蕙, a fragrant species of marshy orchid. To such an extent was the *taboo* of the character carried that if any one sent in a Memorial or card with the written character 蘭 on it, it was either altered to 蕙 or the radical for 'grass' removed from the top. *V.* 西太后軼事 and 清代軼聞.

I am not aware from what sources the assertions of the authors are derived; but there is a statement in the Manchu Annals that the *Yêhê* tribe of Manchus were originally Tumed Mongols,

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*Her surname was *Na Lan* 納蘭 generally written *Nala* 那拉. She was a lineal descendant of the *Yêh-Hê-Na-Lan* tribe (葉赫納蘭部), who were conquered by the Manchus before the latter conquered China. T'ai Tsung 太宗, whose accession took place in 1627 under the reign title T'ien Tsung, was engaged to a lady of the *Ni-k'an-wai-lan* tribe (尼堪外蘭部), but the engagement was broken off through the machinations of the latter into which she subsequently married. This act aroused T'ai Tsung's ire, and out of revenge he made war on them and conquered both the tribes. Thus through the medium of a woman (the old story),—no less a personage than the famous Empress Dowager Tz'ŭ Hsi—who was a descendant of a tribe conquered by the Manchus, through her misdeeds, in turn eventually brought down their own ruin! A fitting epitaph to her would be "*Triumpho morte tam viti.*"

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who conquered the *Nala* 納喇 tribe occupying Hulun, and then themselves took over the family name of *Nala*, which was only changed to *Yêhê* 葉赫 when they migrated to a river of that name. (Another version says it is the name of a country). Thus the stock of the late Empress-Dowager *Yêhê-Nala* was really as much Mongol as Manchu. (See *Mongolia after the Genghizides and before the Manchus*, by Prof. E. H. Parker, in Journal N. C. B. R. A. S. Vol. XLIV, 1913.)

It is to be noted that *Nalan* and *Nala* are the Chinese sounds and have nothing to do with the meaning of the characters. Although the character Na 納 appears frequently in the names of sons of the Manchu Emperors, I can find only one with Lan 蘭 in it, and that is the first son of the Emperor T'ien Tsung, which was *Ahlant'ai* 阿蘭泰.

Query. Did T'ien Tsung name his first-born after the woman he loved ?

It is not generally known that the Emperor Ch'ien Lung deposed his Secondary Consort *Na Lan Shih* 納蘭氏 who belonged to the same clan or tribe as Tz'ŭ Hsi, for presuming to dictate to His Majesty. She then entered a Monastery at Hangchow where she died. A certain Manchu Censor memorialized the Throne that she should be interred according to the State ritual, but it was refused on the plea that no one with the hair cut off, especially a female who had taken monastic vows could be buried with Imperial ceremonies. But in the 5th year of Chia Ch'ing (A.D. 1800) she was granted the honor, "The ceremony however, being somewhat disparaged." So says the author of the 清代軼聞.

* * *

No. 476 劍, also means to cleave, swish through the air with a sword, etc. It is also read *chiao*^{1} and *ch'ao*^{1}.

* * *

No. 520 巢, 南巢 is the modern province of Anhui where the infamous tyrant *Chieh* was compelled to flee to, and where he died three years later.

* * *

Under No. 13,329 瀛, the "family of a high official" 瀛眷 should be mentioned.

* * *

A term worth adding to No. 2886 is 香烟之種^{3} "To be pregnant"—supposedly with a son who performs the ancestral sacrifices.

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No. 3276 軍 also means rhubarb, *e.g.*, 熟軍 Prepared rhubarb. No. 9849 沈 has also the rhyme 沁.

* * *

Nos. 12,225 遁 and 12,241 遯 are interchanged. So are Nos. 8591 般 and 8595 班.

* * *

Under No. 5106 皇 Dr. Giles rightly refers to No. 5119 凰. But he does not tell us that 皇 is the old form used in the classics for 凰 No. 5108.

* * *

In the Analects, chap. 7, 述而 it is stated that when Confucius was in Ch'i he heard the *Shao*, and did not know the taste of meat for three months (子在齊聞韶三月不知肉味). The 高麗本論語集解, however, states that this is incorrect and that the correct text is: 子在齊聞韶音, 不知肉味 "When the Master went to Ch'i and heard the music of the *Shao*, he lost his taste for meat—in consequence.

Then again, in the Shih Chi (史記) it is stated that when the "Master visited Ch'i he heard the *Shao* studied or practised it for three months, during which time he lost the taste for meat." (子在齊聞韶, 學之三月, 不知肉味).

Confucius said that the *Shao* was the most perfect and beautiful of all instruments; so why should he limit his loss of taste for meat to only three months? Why limit it at all? In this, as in many other things connected with the Analects, Chu Hsi is not to be depended upon.

* * *

In the 論語駁 by 晋樂肇 it is stated that the classical sentence: 文莫吾猶人 "In letters I am perhaps equal to other men" (Analects, chap. 7, 述而); should be: "(In moral character) I am *almost* equal to other men."

文莫 is said to be a provincialism in current use in the 燕 and 齊 states, meaning 'nearly' or 'almost.' There would appear to be some truth in this statement, since Confucius was more likely to pride himself on moral character or *li* rather than on *wên* scholarship.

No. 9395 擘, *po*^{4} is also read *pi*^{4} and in the Pekingese vernacular *p'i*^{3}, especially in the classical phrase 巨擘 "The thumb," alluding to Ch'ên Chung-tzŭ (陳仲子). *Vide* Mencius, chap. 滕文公. But it is correctly read *po*^{4} "to divide," as in 擘窠.

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What, however, has called my attention to this character is, that the Author of the *Sui-yuan-sui-pi* (袁枚) states that the term 巨擘 meant, in the *Ch'i* state dialect, an "earthworm." Hence, Mencius compared Ch'ên Chung-tzŭ to an earthworm owing to his refusal to face the cares of official life, although he had great ability. Hence, Mencius derided rather than praised him.

* * *

Etymology. Dr. Giles in his Chinese-English Dictionary gives some good illustrations of the characters 牛 and 物; and how, in pre-historical times, the Chinese began to make rude pictures of the sun, moon, stars, etc. He also gives some good examples of how they were extended to their present form. That the *original* signification of some of the characters has actually been *transposed* is evident from the following: Shê 射 is formed from "body and inch." Naturally, one would think, this should refer to people of "short stature"; yet, it has no such meanings; but, instead, the predominant meaning is to "shoot with an arrow," "To aim at," etc. But Ai 矮, made up of "arrow and throw" which one would naturally suppose meant to "shoot with an arrow," has no such meanings attached to it at all, but means (what 射 *ought* to mean), "short of stature," a dwarf! There are many other suchlike deceptive characters, if we will only take the trouble to look them up.

* * *

No. 13,287 胤, is wrongly given as 氖 instead of 胤 under Chronological Tables on p. 22 in Giles' Dict. And 氖 instead of 𠙵 under No. 5217 (諱). Not only Yung Chêng, but the founder of the Sung dynasty, Chao K'uang Yin (*Biog. Dict.* No. 168), altered 胤 to 𠙵. Under No. 13,287, No. 11,581 is wrongly referred to instead of No. 11,851.

The general rule for *taboo* characters was to omit the *last* stroke, never the first, or alter the symbol as, *e.g.*, 淳 to 湻 as in T'ung Chih's name or 琰 to 琬 as in the case of Chia-Ching's. Or, as in the case of Kuan Yü, the god of war. The 羽 being slightly altered.

The 熹 in Chu Hsi's name was also *taboo*, being omitted altogether; hence *Chu Fu-tzŭ*. The only sentence extant that I know of where the character 曦 is used is in T'ao Yüan Ming's 歸去來辭: 恨晨光之熹微 "I hate the faint light of dawn." Dr. Giles under No. 4080 omits 恨 and translates "The faint warmth of morning."

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In the *New China Review*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 70, I pointed out what was obviously a glaring misprint, viz., *Wu chiao* 無教 for *Wu ao* 無敖; Giles' Dict. No. 83, in the sense of vain-glory, etc. Unfortunately, the responsible printer could not get away from the rooted idea that *ao* 敖 *must* be *chiao* 教, although the character *ao* was clearly and distinctly written;* but as that particular phrase has been handed down for thousands of generations whether it made sense or not did not concern the printer; what concerned him most was that it "always has been so," and could be nothing else; thus confusing the whole tenor of the note and perpetuating the very mistake it was intended to make clear!

* * *

My object in drawing attention to the above note is concerned with another anomaly or corrupt meaning, viz., the classical sentence "予有亂臣十人 (I have ten able ministers)." In the dictionaries, the first meaning of *luan* 亂 No. 7461, is 'to regulate'; 'to govern'; the second is just the opposite, 'to confuse,' confusion, etc. The *Tz'ŭ Yüan* says that 亂臣 means "治亂之臣也" (To govern the rebellious ministers); and "作亂之臣也" (Rebellious ministers). The ten ministers (one of whom was a woman) were: 周公旦; 召公奭; 太公望; 榮公; 太顛; 閎夭; 散宜生; 南宮适; 畢公; and the woman 文母. Dr. Legge in a note says that the style of the whole chapter, however, is different from that of any previous one, and rightly says that "We may suspect that it is corrupt."

According to Ma Jung (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1475), 文母 was the daughter of 有莘氏 and the wife of Wên Wang, *i.e.*, 太姒.

But what none of the lexicographers or commentators seemed to know was that 乿 an old form of *chih* 治 was confused with *luan* 亂; hence, as might be expected, inevitable confusion! They seemed to overlook the fact that a character could not possibly mean "Disorder" and "confusion" and at the same time mean "to govern, or regulate." They had to assign a meaning in conformity with the text, and so defined it to mean "able," etc., although they must have known that it had no such meaning. And just as our printer with *chiao* and *ao*, so the commentators; they could not get away from 亂 and gave it a meaning utterly at variance with its root meanings. In the 四書味根錄, there is a quotation from one 劉侍讀 (I cannot discover who Liu

*The Editor cannot refer now to Mr. Arlington's manuscript but accepts the responsibility of having allowed the wrong character to be printed, and regrets the error.

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was, *shih-tu* would appear to be his title or "Reader"), saying that there is no such principle as a son employing his own mother as a minister; and that 文母 was a woman named I Chiang (邑姜). That the nine ministers controlled external and the woman internal (Palace ?) affairs. He also says that *luan* 亂 is a misprint for 乿 an old form of 治. The following extract is taken from the 朱註四書: 或曰舊本作乿古治字今作亂字疑誤也又文母係邑姜也所謂爲文王之后妃武王之母者非.

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RECENT LITERATURE

Ars Asiatica, III ; Sculpture Civaites, G. Van Oest & Cie., Bruxelles et Paris, 1921, fr. 125.

Two earlier numbers of *Ars Asiatica*, one by Petrucci on Chinese Painting in the Musée Cernuschi, and one by Chavannes on Chinese Sculpture, appeared before the war. After a long interval this third volume appears, but, alas! it is dedicated "A la Mémoire d'Edouard Chavannes et de Raphaël Petrucci."

The present volume means less to us in China as it is entirely about Indian Art. Çiva is only known to us here through his corrupting influence on the Buddhism which entered Tibet. He himself, better known to us in the old-fashioned spelling as Siva, is the supreme deity of the Hindu trinity, "the absolute entity, the god without attributes, neither Being nor not-Being. The forty-seven wonderful heliotype plates in this volume are all concerned with him. The first six reproduce two bronzes of him in the act of dancing. Then there are fourteen reproducing a three-headed cliff-sculpture—one head being that of Çiva—in the famous temple called Elephanta. The image is some 12 or 15 feet high and a curious fact is recorded that behind Çiva's head a niche has been discovered capable of holding two persons out of sight, which gives rise to the suspicion that oracular utterances were here sought for and received.

The remaining twenty-one plates reproduce carvings on an immense rock at Mavalipuram on the Coromandel coast where innumerable figures are represented hastening with joy towards a central point. The interpretation—a new one— which is now given to this wonderful sculpture is that it represents the joy of the Universe after Çiva had permitted the Ganges to fall

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from Heaven upon his head, from whence it flowed to enrich and purify the world.

As to the plates, we can only say that they are in the highest style of heliotype engraving; it is hardly possible to conceive of work more exquisitely done. The text which accompanies the plates is of extreme value, and that the art is worthy of study by all students is proved by the ecstatic, if sometimes cryptic utterances to which they move the great master Auguste Rodin—who also has since gone *ad majores*. The illustrious artist was quick to see the analogies between Indian Art and that of our Middle Ages. He was engaged on a work dealing with the Cathedrals of France, and felt drawn by the art discussed in this volume, an art in which religious thought predominated and in which stone became symbolic. Hence he wrote in 1913 the pages with which the volume opens. Thus of the Dancing Çiva he writes:—

"La pose est connue, selon les artistes; mais il n'y a rien de commun; car, dans toute pose, il y a la nature, et si loin! Il y a surtout ce que les uns et les autres ne v ent pas: les profondeurs inconnues, le fond de la vie. Dans l 'gance, il y a la grâce; au-dessus de la grâce il y a la modéle; tout va plus loin, on l'appelle doux, mais c'est puissamment doux! Alors les mots manquent. . . ."

After Rodin's pages the well-known Indian writer Coomaraswamy tells us all that it is necessary for us to know about Çiva, and we are thankful t ve so clear an account from an Indian scholar.

The remaining papers, with a bibliography of the subject, are by E. B. Havel and Victor Gol bew who is also director of the publication.

Ars Asiatica is from this th d number published by the École Française de l'Extrême-Orient. For English readers it may be well to add the English measurements of the sumptuous work, which is called in-4° jésus. It is $16\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Bulletin Archéologique du Musée Guimet, Fasc. 1 (fr.15), Fasc. 2 (fr. 8); G. Van Oest; petit in-4°, 1921.

This is a new publication complementary to the larger series of *Annales* of the Museum and the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*; it is to be issued as occasion arises when some important event connected with the Museum demands it, such as the return of an expedition, and some fascicules will be devoted to describing the precious collections already in the Museum. Thus,

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the first of those before us is entitled "Salle Edouard Chavannes" because such a new salle has just been opened. It deals with Chavannes himself in a paper by Pelliot, and there are half-a-dozen other papers by M. Sylvain Lévi, M. de Tizac, M. Vitry and M. Jean Lartigue, chiefly dealing with the Missions of Chavannes, Segalen, de Voisins and Lartigue. Many of our Shanghai readers will remember that M. Segalen lectured at the Royal Asiatic Society some years ago. He died in 1919.

The fascicule has four plates, one, a portrait of Chavannes, the same that was given in the first number of this Review, but infinitely superior as a reproduction.

The second fascicule is entitled "Asie Centrale et Tibet," and treats of the Missions Pelliot and Bacot. Prof. Pelliot himself gives a very succinct account of his Mission, and there is a long description by Hackin of the documents etc. of that Mission preserved in the Museum. Several other valuable papers complete the number, which also is embellished with four good plates.

Le Proto-Chinois, Langue Flexionnelle; par B. Karlgren, extrait du Journal Asiatique, Avril, 1920.

Prof. Karlgren is well-known for his intensive studies of the Chinese language, and a notice of very erudite work of his on its phonology appeared recently in this journal. It probably appears to many people that phonetics applied to Chinese is altogether too recondite and uncertain, but of the writer's erudition there can be no question and to those who can make use of such studies his works can be heartily recommended.

The paper before us is a brief study which cannot fail to interest every serious student of Chinese, even if he should be unable to agree entirely with the conclusions. The method of study by which the Professor seeks to prove that there is a real inflection in the ancient language seems very ingenious and scientific. He takes the pronouns of the first person and rigidly examines them as they stand, first in the *Lun Yü*, and within these limits he shows that 吾 *Wu* appears ninety-five times as a nominative, five times as genitive and three times as objective.

Wo 我 on the other hand functions six times as nominative, four times as genitive and twenty-six times as objective. Thus 吾 is shown to be the absolutely preponderating form for the nominative and 我 is almost alone as objective; but while 吾 shows no tendency to extend the objective case, the objective 我 is beginning to carry it over the nominative.

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The same method is applied to Mencius, where, in a hundred and forty-four nominatives seventy-six are represented by 吾 and sixty-eight by 我, while there are fifty-three objectives all represented by 我.

Again, in the *Tso Chuan*, of six-hundred nominatives, 吾 is used three hundred and sixty-nine times and 我 two hundred and thirty-one times. There are two hundred and sixty-one objective cases, only four of them being represented by 吾 and two hundred and fifty-seven by 我. (For brevity's sake we are ignoring the genitive case.)

Having shown the strict method used we need only add that the Professor applies it also to the *Shu Ching* and *Shih Ching* and finds they have absolutely no distinction in cases of pronouns, which leads to the conclusion that the language of Lu was a dialect survival.

Various subsidiary proofs are brought forward to show that originally 女(汝) was nominative and genitive and 爾 was objective, which later obtruded itself into the sphere of nominative. Appealing to the phonetic values, 吾 being pronounced *nguo* and 我 *nga*, while 女 and 爾 have also sounds beginning alike (it is impossible for our printers to reproduce the extraordinary 'spelling') we have a perfect paradigm of the first and second person of the pronoun.

The argument is re-inforced by examining 予 and 朕, and the conclusion is that proto-Chinese was an inflected language but that the inflections have been shed except in the pronouns exactly as has happened in some other languages.

Incidently the fact that the nominatives in the *Lun Yü* are only fourteen per cent. 我, while in the *Tso chuan* its percentage is thirty-eight, is used as a proof that the latter was not produced by the same pen or at the same period as the former.

The complete study, of which we have given only slight indications, is certainly of great value, and should be read by all who are truly interested in the origin and structure of the Chinese language.

Religious Persecution in China: A Historical Study of the Relations Between Church and State. By H. K. Wright, (Chinese Recorder, June, 1921).

This reprint is a valuable study, more scholarly and balanced than is usual with Recorder articles. It is largely a critical study of De Groot's well-known work. De Groot's facts are accepted as generally correct but his treatment of these facts meets with a good deal of sound criticism.

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We have spoken of the book as "well-known": it would be a curious and interesting question to ask how many missionary readers of the *Recorder* possess and have read it.

We can heartily recommend all who have any interest in Church History or in Chinese History to read the paper at least.

We have received a prospectus of an important work to which we are glad to call attention. Business firms who know the value of Dingle's Commercial Atlas & Gazetteer will welcome the *Far Eastern Products Manual* by the same editor. It is to be a complete work of reference concerning all Far Eastern Products with which merchants here or at home have to deal; the list seems exhaustive, and concerning each one there is given its description, its provenance, modes of preparation, old and new, methods of packing, measurements, quality, adulteration, uses, insurance and apparently whatever other particulars anybody in the world needs to know about it. We cannot conceive of a work of its kind which promises to be more complete or more useful.

The *Review* is unfortunately always out of the press later than it should be, so that our readers, if dependent on this notice alone would, we regret to say, be too late to take advantage of the subscription price of Tls. 100; but even at the higher price after July 31 no firm will hesitate to invest in a work so necessary. It is published at the offices of the Far Eastern Geographical Establishment and "Finance and Commerce."

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